



THE
CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND

*From 1593, and the Extinction of the Hierarchy in
1603, till the Death of Bishop Carruthers
in 1852,*

BY

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PIUS IX AND HIS TIME; LETTERS AND LECTURE ON THE BRITISH
COLONIES; AN ESSAY ON THE POETS OF CANADA; THE NORTH-
WEST TERRITORY AND BRITISH COLUMBIA; THE TEMPORAL
SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPE; ST. VINCENT DE PAUL; ZENOBIAS;
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TO HIS
FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN

THIS WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY THEIR

VERY HUMBLE AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

It is shown in the following sketches, that some time after the "Reformation" was introduced into Scotland, Catholics were still numerous and powerful. Their supporters could lead armies into the field, fight battles and win victories in their defence. This contested but glorious existence, is contrasted with the extreme depression—annihilation, it may be said, to which the Church was reduced, when her enemies could say, and with so much truth, that she was extinguished. The slow but steady restoration to new life, like the rising of the fabled Phoenix from its ashes, is then dwelt upon at length, until, notwithstanding popular hate and hostile legislation, the great Institution, which was fated not to perish, attained to that highly advanced condition which is the consolation and joy, in our more enlightened age, of hosts of friends and adherents.

The historical sketches which make up this volume, appeared from week to week in the *Catholic Record*, a Canadian publication. Several persons of Scottish origin having expressed a desire to possess them in the form of a book, the author, in compliance with

their wish, undertook the work and cost of publishing. Such as are familiar with the memoirs, records and histories on which the volume is founded, will find in it nothing new. To most Canadian readers of Scottish descent, who take an interest in the Church and history of Scotland, it will prove, the author hopes, a source of pleasure and information.



CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND.

CAP. I.

NUMBER AND POWER OF CATHOLICS IN 1692—THE KIRK OBTAINS A CHARTER—NO TOLERATION—CATHOLIC WORSHIP PUT DOWN BY LAW—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S INTRIGUES AGAINST THE CATHOLICS—CATHOLICS SEEK THE AID OF SPAIN—THEIR AGENT ARRESTED—THE "SPANISH BLANKS"—KING JAMES OPPOSES THE ENGLISH FACTION—HIS LENIENCY TO THE BARONS—THE KIRK DISSATISFIED—THE PURPOSE OF THE MINISTERS TO PERSECUTE RESISTED BY THE KING—THEY, IN CONSEQUENCE, REFUSE ALL AID IN PRESERVING ORDER—FEARFUL ANARCHY—THE "REFORMED NOBILITY."

About the time of the extinction of the Hierarchy Catholics were still numerous and powerful in Scotland. "The Roman Catholic Party," says Mr. Fraser Tytler, "although apparently subdued and silent, were still powerful in the Kingdom. There was no reason why this large and powerful body of men should despair of success, but rather the contrary." As proof of this, Mr. Tytler refers to a remarkable paper in the hand of Lord Burghley, drawn up

apparently for his own guidance, which brings forward in clear contrast the comparative strength of the Catholic and Protestant parties in Scotland. We learn from this paper that "all the Northern part of the Kingdom, including the counties of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland and Aberdeen, with Moray, and the Sherifffdoms of Buchan, of Angus, of Wigtown and of Nithsdale, were, either wholly or for the greater part, in the interest of the Roman Catholic Party, commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that Faith, and directed in their movements by Jesuits and Priests, who were concealed in various parts of the country, especially in Angus. On the other hand, the counties of Perth and Stirling, the populous Shire of Fife and the counties of Lanark, Dumbarton and Renfrew, including the rich district of Clydesdale, were, with few exceptions, Protestant, whilst the counties of Ayr and Linlithgow were dubious and could not be truly ranged either on one side or the other." (Fraser Tytler hist. of Scot. vol. 7. p. 160.) Hence, there was between the parties a drawn battle which King James was unable to bring to an end, so uncertain, at the time, was his policy. He deemed it impossible to attempt anything serious against either party, and so judged it prudent to temporize and keep up the two factions, balancing the one against the other.

In 1592 the faction of the Kirk were determined to obtain a solemn legislative establishment of the Presbyterian system of Church government. Their assembly accordingly presented to Parliament the following articles or requests to the King: I. That the Acts of Parliament passed in 1584 against the discipline and liberty of the Kirk should be repealed, and the present discipline be ratified.

II. That the Act of Annexation should be abolished, and the patrimony of the Kirk restored.

III. That abbots, priors and other prelates pretending to ecclesiastical authority, and giving their votes in matters, without any delegated authority from the Kirk, should not be permitted to vote in parliament or any other convention; and, lastly,

IV. That the land, which was polluted by fearful idolatry and bloodshed, should be purged. The King was well aware that any concession in this direction, would increase the power of the ministers, and much danger was to be apprehended from the turbulence and independence of these bold and able men. Moved, however, by the advice and influence of Chancellor Maitland, he, from policy rather than affection, assented to the odious measure. The Act is still known as "the charter of the liberties of the Kirk."

The ministers might now have been satisfied. For,

in addition to the advantage which they had gained, the Catholics were inclined to remain at peace and refrain from all practices against the religion of the State, on the one condition that they should not be persecuted on account of their adherence to the ancient Faith. The divine principle of toleration was not yet recognized. Everything that Catholics did was, in the estimation of the Kirk, anti-Christian and idolatrous. "A single case of Catholic worship, however secret, was strictly prohibited ; the attendance of a solitary individual at a single Mass in the remotest district of the land, at the dead hour of night, in the most secluded chamber and where none could come but such as knelt before the altar for conscience sake, and in all sincerity of soul, was a crime against the State and the Kirk. Such worship and its toleration for an hour, was considered an open encouragement of Antichrist and idolatry." (Fraser Tytler.) It was not only praiseworthy but a high point of religious duty to extinguish the Mass forever, and to compel its supporters to embrace what the fanatics of the Kirk so absurdly called *the purity of Presbyterian truth*. In order to accomplish this impossible iniquity, every criminal appliance was had recourse to,—imprisonment, banishment, forfeiture. The wild fanaticism of the time stopped not short even at the taking of life. In order to enforce

these penalties the whole apparatus of the Kirk, now supported by the State, and all the machinery of detection and persecution, were ruthlessly employed.

Need it be wondered at that the Catholics, under the lash of such savage persecution, were roused to opposition? or that they plotted for the overthrow of the Government which patronized it? The Kirk availed itself of the aid of a foreign power in forwarding its evil purposes. And the Queen of England was only too glad to have their co-operation in the base intrigues which she was constantly carrying on for the extirpation of the Catholic religion in Scotland through her ambassador and other agents at the Scottish Court. The Catholic Party in Scotland, seeing that the Kirk scrupled not to employ against them the influence of a foreign court, resolved on a similar policy. As their adversaries obtained the support of the powerful patroness of Protestantism, the Queen of England, they thought it no wrong to seek the assistance of Catholic Spain. They sent an Envoy, most injudiciously, it cannot but be said, to negotiate with the King of that country and induce him to send an armed force to aid them. This Envoy was Mr. George Kerr, a Catholic gentleman and brother of the Abbot of Newbottle. Mr. Kerr had reached the Cumrays, two small islands in the estuary of the Clyde, when he was overtaken by

a warlike minister who, at the head of an armed band, had started in search of him from Paisley, and arrested him in the night as he had stepped on board the vessel which was to convey him to Spain. His luggage was searched, packets of letters found, and he himself carried a prisoner to Edinburgh. At first he denied everything, and, as he had many friends, was likely to escape, when an order was given that, according to the barbarous usage of the time, he should be put to the torture. On the second stroke of the cruel boots, he made a full confession, from which it appeared that the main object of his mission was to obtain the descent of a Spanish force on the coast of Scotland. This armament was to be joined by the Earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus, with Sir Patrick Gordon of Auhendown, uncle to Huntly and other Catholic barons. In the letters seized there were found several signatures of the Earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus. These signatures were at the bottom of blank sheets of paper, having the seals of the three barons attached to them, and were to be filled up by Mr. Kerr according to verbal instructions. They were, on his arrival at Madrid, to be delivered to the King of Spain. The plot is known in history by the name of the "Spanish blanks." There was an air of mystery about this discovery which gave occasion to much terror and exaggeration. The

Kirk was greatly excited, and communicated the excitement to its adherents. The first result was a proclamation that all Jesuits, seminary priests, and "excommunicates," should within three hours leave the city on pain of death. A convention of the Protestant nobility and gentry was held, and with the ministers at their head, proceeded to the palace and demanded instant prosecution of the traitors. Mr. Kerr was spared through the powerful intervention of the Queen of Scotland and the influential House of Seton. He finally escaped. But Graham, of Fintray was committed to prison, and the trial and forfeiture of Angus were considered certain. In return for the vigorous prosecution of all concerned in the "Spanish blanks," King James required that his traitorous enemy, the Earl of Bothwell, who was at the time plotting against him and the Catholics in concert with Queen Elizabeth, should be attacked and punished on account of treasons even more flagrant than those of the Catholic Earls. This could not be refused. The King, now confident in his power to overthrow Earl Bothwell and Queen Elizabeth's faction, discharged the vials of his wrath on Mr. Bowes, the intriguing English ambassador, who, no less than his Royal Mistress, was an accomplice of Bothwell. The King now raised an army and marching against the Spanish Barons, who had withdrawn to their

strongholds in the north, defeated them without a battle; but dealt leniently with them to the great vexation of Queen Elizabeth and her friends, the ministers of the Kirk. Their persons were safe in the fastnesses of Caithness. Their patrimonial interest and rights of succession were considered to be still entire, and part of their estates were in friendly hands. Lord Burgh, an English agent at the court of Scotland, wrote to Burghly, a minister of Queen Elizabeth, that the King "dissembled a confiscation," and would leave the rebels in full strength.

The members of the Kirk were greatly dissatisfied with the leniency shown by the King to the rebel Barons. They went so far as to attack him in the pulpit, and even threw out surmises of his secret inclination to "Popery." Notwithstanding all this, the party of the ministers of the Kirk was the only one on which King James could rely, with the exception of some of the lesser Barons and the Burghs. The higher nobles were at variance with one another, and some of them at deadly enmity with the King. The ministers required as a condition of their support, that His Majesty should labour with them for the destruction of the Catholic Earls and the entire extirpation of the Catholic Faith. To such a cruel and sweeping act of persecution, King James decidedly refused to consent.

The Catholics were still numerous and powerful. They counted in their ranks thirteen of the higher nobility of Scotland and a large proportion of the people in the Northern counties. To destroy them was no easy task. The ministers, nevertheless, were bold enough to undertake it; and they spared no pains in order to force the King to give them his countenance and aid. That he refused to do so will not appear astonishing when it is considered what the measures were for the carrying out of which they desired his co-operation. The cruelty and intolerance of the ministers' demands will be best learned from their own words. They represented "that seeing the increase of 'Papistry' daily within the realm, it was craved of His Majesty and his Council and his nobility, at the time assembled, that all 'Papists' within the land may be punished according to the laws of God and of the kingdom. That the Act of Parliament might strike upon all manner of men, landed or unlanded, in office or not, as it at present strikes against beneficed persons. That a declaration be made against all Jesuits, Seminary Priests and trafficking 'Papists,' pronouncing them guilty of treason; and that the penalties of the Act may be enforced against all persons who conceal or harbour them, not for three days, as it now stands, but for any time whatsoever; that all such

persons as the Kirk had found to be 'Papists,' although they be not excommunicated, should be debarred from occupying any office within the realm, as also from access to His Majesty's company, or enjoying any benefit of the laws ; that, upon this declaration the pains of treason and other civil pains should follow, as upon the sentence of excommunication ; and that an Act of Council should be passed to this effect, which in the next Parliament should be made law." In order to induce the King to comply with these extravagant demands, they offered, in return for his compliance, to place "their bodies, goods, friends, allies, servants and possessions wholly at his service in any way in which he should be pleased to employ them." They offered, moreover, to provide a body guard for the Royal person and to pay the same ; but, from funds levied from the possessions of Catholics.

To such cruel persecution King James would by no means consent. As was to be expected, the ministers resented his refusal ; and shewed their *animus* by withdrawing all their aid and co-operation in maintaining law and order. The people, adherents of the Kirk, were now left without any other guide than such principles of morality as the Calvinistic ministers were accustomed to inculcate. The consequence was a near approach to anarchy and a total disorganization of society.

“The capital,” says Mr. Fraser Tytler, “presented almost daily scenes of outrage and confusion. The security and sanctity of domestic life were invaded and despised; ruffians, under the command of, and openly protected by the nobles, (such as adhered to the Kirk), tore honourable maidens from the bosom of their families and carried them off in open day.” The violent and criminal conduct of James Gray, a brother of the notorious master of Gray, may be quoted as shewing how the patrons of the new or reformed religion set an example of obedience to the ten commandments. This hopeful disciple of the Kirk, seized a young lady named Carnegie, who was an heiress, and, at the time, living in her father’s house, and hurried her, by force, down a close or narrow street to the North Loch. He then delivered her to a band of armed men, who dragged her into a boat, her hair hanging about her face and her clothes almost torn from her person. Meanwhile, Gray’s associate, Lord Hume, kept the streets with his retainers, beat off the Lord Provost, who in the execution of his duty attempted a rescue. In the *melee* which took place, some citizens who presumed to interfere with the noble proceeding of nobility were slain. This was not all. The Lord Provost carried his complaint before the King in presence of his courtiers. Said His Majesty to the Provost:

"Do you see here any of my nobles whom you can accuse?" Lord Hume was standing close to King James, and looked so savagely at the Provost that the magistrate encountering his fierce eye did not dare to impeach him, but retired terror-struck, silent and abashed. The Gray here mentioned was a member of the King's household. He was assisted in his exploit by Sir James Sandilands and other courtiers. The Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar were playing tennis near the scene of the outrage, but abstained from interfering. So much for the *reformed* nobility.

Such an atrocious insulting of the laws and the inability of the King and the Chief Magistrate of the capital to punish criminals made a deep and unfavorable impression on Queen Elizabeth's minister, Burghley, and induced him to write: "A miserable state that may cause us to bless ours and our govern-ess." Such remarks came well from parties who murdered citizens every other day *according to law*, for religion's sake.

And what are we to think of *ministers of peace*, for such they pretended to be, who contrary to what they believed, or affected to believe to be their duty, refused to obey their sovereign, who required of them that they should concur with him in maintaining peace and order in a community so seriously disturbed by their innovations.

CAP. II.

QUEEN ELIZABETH SEEKS THE AID OF THE CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND—KING JAMES FAVOURS THE CATHOLICS—EARL HUNTLY, A CATHOLIC, MASTER IN ARGYLE'S COUNTRY—THE KING PUNISHES THE KIRK AND EARL BOTHWELL—THE CATHOLIC EARLS BOLDER THAN EVER—THEIR AGENT, KERR, AVENGED—POPULARITY OF THE CATHOLIC EARLS—SAVED BY THE KING FROM THE INJUSTICE OF THE KIRK—THE KING SUSPECTED BY THE MINISTERS OF BECOMING A CATHOLIC—HIS ZEAL FOR THE "TRUE RELIGION"—HIS EXTRAORDINARY MODE OF PACIFICATION OFFENDS BOTH PARTIES—SCOLDED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH—HE WOULD NOT BE DICTATED TO BY A PRINCESS WHO SO VIOLENTLY PERSECUTED HER CATHOLIC SUBJECTS—THE CATHOLIC EARLS DRIVEN INTO REBELLION—THE BIRTH OF AN HEIR—FANTASTIC CELEBRATION—THE KING LEADS AN ARMY AGAINST THE REBELS, WHOM LORD BOTHWELL PROPOSES TO AID.

At this time (1593) the Catholic Party in Scotland was so powerful and important that the arch-enemy of Catholics, Queen Elizabeth, was glad to seek their favour. This powerful Queen, together with her

ministers, Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil entered into a secret communication with the Earl of Huntly and the Catholic Party with a view to keep up her faction in Scotland, which she had always so much at heart. Notwithstanding her protestations that she was guided solely by zeal for the glory of God and the interests of the "*true Religion*," Mr. Bowes, her ambassador in Scotland, declared that a coalition between the Catholics and her protegee, Earl Bothwell, would highly offend the ministers of the Kirk who would "greatly start and wonder hereat." Besides, how could he reconcile such a measure with his instructions to prosecute the "*Papistical*" rebels? How could he allow Huntly's uncle, a priest and a Jesuit, to steal quietly out of Scotland, and nevertheless, satisfy the Kirk and the Protestant leaders that he (Bowes) was an enemy of the idolators. It need hardly be said the proposed coalition never took place. Meanwhile, King James, having overcome his great enemy, Earl Bothwell, who had so often plotted and intrigued against him, and having dealt leniently with him, allowing him to enjoy his revenues provided he absented himself from the kingdom, and pardoning the accomplices of his late treasons, was now more powerful than ever. He could now afford to show some favour to the Catholic leaders. He invited the Countess of Huntly to his court, permitted the

Catholic Earls, Angus and Erroll, to visit their friends without molestation, and, as was strongly asserted at the time, consented to hold a secret interview with Huntly at his palace at Falkland. Huntly had become an experienced warrior, and for several months had kept the whole of Argyle's country in terror and subjection. He had also had great promises of support from Spain which did not hinder King James from believing, that, with so powerful a chief and Hume on his side, he need not fear the Earls Bothwell and Athole, or their allies. Measures now followed, in quick succession, that were well calculated to shew that the King was both able and determined to punish the insults which had been heaped upon him by the faction of the Kirk and Earl Bothwell. Hume, a Catholic, was appointed Captain of the King's body guard. The ministers were preparing a process of excommunication against this powerful Baron. The King required that they should abandon it. The three Catholic Earls, Huntly, Angus and Erroll, although not yet admitted at Court, appeared in public openly and with full confidence. Angus visited Morton in Fifeshire and advised him to join his party, as it was now so strong that it would soon be able to force a union. Even George Kerr, who had suffered so much in connection with the "Spanish blanks," came on the scene, appearing near Dalkeith,

with a troop of eighty horse. He warned Lord Ross tenants to abstain from their labours in order to save their houses from being burned. Ross' men had assisted in the capture of Kerr and he himself was rewarded with a grant of land called Melville, and other lands around Newbottle which belonged to the Kerrs. These events were not altogether unimportant. The ministers noticed them in the pulpit; for these watchmen of the Kirk had a keen eye for detecting the current of court favour that was now setting in towards "Popery." So much so was this the case, that the ministers strongly asseverated, but without grounds, that the King had serious intentions of becoming a convert to the Catholic faith. It was not even in his mind to permit the public exercise of this religion to any of his subjects. His great object was to counteract the unprincipled policy of Queen Elizabeth, who constantly aimed at weakening Scotland by causing discord and divisions among the nobility. Now that James was once more free and a powerful monarch, he resolved to reconcile all the feuds of the Barons and unite the parties that had been hitherto so strongly opposed to one another. How violently adverse to this wise policy the supporters of the English Queen were, we learn from a letter of Mr. Carey, Governor of Berwick and a son of Lord Hunsdon, a near relative of the Queen.

He expressed the fervent hope that the day might never arrive which shall see the Scottish nobles "linked together in peace." The letter referred to is as follows:—"I know not well what to say ; but, this I am sure, the King doth too much *appose*, lean on, or rely, (apponere) himself to the Papist faction for our good, I fear. Yet here (in the border districts) is nothing but peace and seeking to link all the nobility together, which, I hope, will never be. The Papists do only bear sway ; and the King hath none to put in trust with his own body but them. What will come of this your Lordship's wisdom can best discern ; and thus much I know certain, that it were good your Lordship looked well whom you trust ; for the King and the nobility of Scotland have too good intelligence out of the Court of England." (Letter of Mr. J. Carey to Lord Burghly, State Paper Office.)

King James now entertained the hope that he might behold his divided nobility united together and affording powerful support to his government. In order to forward this favourite object, he opposed the violent and persecuting measures of the Kirk. Bothwell had lately stated to Queen Elizabeth that the Scottish Catholics were so strong, that, in the event of being united with the Protestants, "they would soon rule all." Huntly and his friends had gained complete pre-eminence in the North. To

assail them with processes of treason and proscription would only have tended to increase their hostility and render them desperate ; and, to fulminate against them, if they would not renounce their religion and sign the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, the assumed thunders of ecclesiastical vengeance would have been highly impolitic as well as intolerant. Such matters the Kirk ardently desired. The King vigorously opposed them. The ministers stormed in their pulpits and convened an assembly at St. Andrews, in order to consult on the imminent dangers which threatened the Kirk. In this assembly the ministers acknowledged the backslidings of their class. They had forgotten their flocks ; they were idle and profane ; it was even declared that “a great part of the pastors were the gayest and the most careless men in Scotland.” They resolved to excommunicate the Catholic Barons ; and they,—a mere local convention—took it upon themselves to issue a sentence delivering their enemies to Satan for the destruction of their flesh. This unhallowed clique presumed also to command that their sentence should be intimated in every Kirk in the kingdom, and that all persons, of whatever rank, should be interdicted from concealing or holding communication with the delinquents whom it had pleased them to deliver to the devil, under pain of being subjected to a like anathema.

Meanwhile, Earl Bothwell, showing himself unworthy of the pardon offered by the King, undertook new intrigues with the ever-willing court of Queen Elizabeth. His schemes and combinations with some of the Scottish Barons were speedily detected by the King, who, assembling a strong force, marched in person, without delay, against the Lords Athole, Gowrie and Montrose, who had got together some five hundred horse, attacked them, made Gowrie and Montrose prisoners, whilst Athole narrowly escaped being taken or slain, and fled with all speed to his own estate in the North.

The Catholic Earls, Huntly, Erroll and Angus, protesting their innocence as regarded the "Spanish blanks," demanded a trial, and even proposed to satisfy the Kirk as to religion. King James, distrusting their sincerity, resisted their importunity. If they had been sincere it would have been highly unjust to reject their request. But it had become well known that they had secretly summoned their friends and retainers to assemble in arms on "the day of law." In the event of such armed assembling the Kirk also resolved to make a military demonstration; and, thus guarded, "accuse their enemies to the uttermost." They added the bitter declaration that they "were certainly determined that the country shall not bruik (brook) us and them baith

(both), so long as they are God's professed enemies." The ministers, accordingly, sent warnings all over the country, to noblemen, barons, gentlemen and Burgesses to muster in warlike arms and array at Perth on the 24th of the month, the day on which it was expected the trial would take place. Commissioners had been appointed to petition the King to "delay the trial till the professors of the gospel should be ripely advised what was meetest for them to do since they had resolved to be the principal accusers of those noblemen in their foul treasons." This petition was presented to James at Jedburgh. He refused to acknowledge any convention that had been called without his order, held some angry conversation with the commissioners and peremptorily declined giving any written reply to the assembly. There was alarm at the Court of Elizabeth; Bowes, her ambassador, wrote to Burghley "the convocation and access of people to that place, (the place of trial) is looked upon to be so great, that thereon bloody troubles shall arise." Indeed, a collision was inevitable, and it would have been the beginning of a bloody civil war. The dreaded calamity was averted by the wise policy of King James. He forbade the trial to be held at Perth, and decreed that a solemn inquiry into the conduct of Huntly, Angus and Erroll should take place before commissioners to be selected

from the nobility, the Burghs and the Kirk. He also appointed that the three Earls should dismiss their forces and await the King's determination at Perth, and that none should be allowed to molest them during the trial when it took place. The Kirk was horror-struck. They had urged the imprisonment of the three Earls and declared that they could not be recognized or allowed to stand their trial, until they signed the Confession of Faith and were reconciled to the Kirk. They insisted, moreover, that the Earls should have no counsel to defend them, and that their accuser, the Kirk, should nominate the jury. These complaints, remonstrances and menaces were all in vain. The King remained firm. He could not consent to the monstrous injustice that was proposed, and to crown the discomfiture of the ministers he was so powerfully supported by the nobility that it would be useless to attempt resistance. The trial was postponed. It was believed that no jury could be found, so "void of favour and partiality" as to condemn the accused. This was no slight admission of the popularity of the Catholic Earls. If acquitted, it was said, no terms or conditions could be imposed upon them which their power would not enable them to set aside. The Earls asserted their innocence as to "the Spanish blanks" and of conspiracy to bring foreign troops into the

realm. They admitted, however, that they had received Jesuits, heard Mass, revolted from the Presbyterian faith, refused to obey their summons for treason, and committed other acts against the laws. In regard to all these matters, they were willing to put themselves in the King's mercy. The King, with the aid of a committee, came to the conclusion that the wisest thing he could do was to adopt a middle course, something between the extremity of persecution which the Kirk desired, and toleration, which was all the Catholics could hope for at the time. This sentence was, that he was firmly resolved that "God's true religion" (pretty well for an Episcopalian) publicly preached and by law established during the first year of his reign, should alone be professed by the whole body of his subjects; and that all who had not embraced it, should, before the first of February next, obey the laws by professing it, and thus satisfy the Kirk, or, if they found this to be against their conscience, they should depart the realm to such parts beyond seas as he should direct, there to remain until they embraced "the true religion" and were reconciled to the Kirk; but, he added, that during this banishment they should enjoy their lands and living. The parties accused of conspiring with Spain for the overthrow of this same "true religion," the Earls of Angus, Huntly and

Erroll, together with Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, and Sir James Chisholm of Cornileys, he pronounced "free and unaccusable in all time coming of any such crimes," and annulled all legal proceedings that had been instituted against them. This favour, however, was extended to the offending Lords on condition only that they should not renew their intrigues or threaten, by word or deed, a repetition of their treason. It was, at the same time, intimated to them and to all other Catholics that if they chose to renounce their "idolatry," to embrace the Presbyterian opinions, satisfy the Kirk and remain to enjoy their estates and honours in their own land, all this must be done before the first day of February next. If they preferred to retain their Faith and go into exile, they were required to abstain from all practices with Jesuits or Seminary Priests against their native country.

By this extraordinary sentence, King James hoped to pacify the country. It only had the effect of making confusion more confounded. It caused wrath and lamentation in the Kirk. The Catholics were too powerful to submit. They were in no humour to abandon their religion or retain it at the expense of perpetual exile. They commanded almost the whole of the North of Scotland, and continued strengthening themselves, both at home and through their

foreign allies, for a new struggle. The feeling of the leading ministers is well described by the English Ambassador, Bowes, in a letter to Lord Burghley, "The King's edict is thought to be very injurious to the Church, and far against the laws of this realm. The ministers have not only openly protested to the King and Convention that they will not agree to the same, but also in their sermons inveigh greatly against it, etc."

Queen Elizabeth was no less offended than the Kirk. Her mind was agitated by the reported proceedings of Jesuits in Scotland, and in consequence of the harsh treatment of Ireland by her government, that country was in perpetual commotion. She could not send her myrmidons to butcher the supporters of the Catholic religion in Scotland, as it was her barbarous policy to do in England. She could, however, scold her good brother, the Scottish King. This she did in good style in a letter which has been preserved, as well as through an ambassador-extraordinary whom, in her excitement, she despatched to the Court of King James. The Queen's bitter and sarcastic letter could not, of course, be acceptable to James. He was greatly vexed by it; but, with his wonted policy, dissembled his wrath and received the ambassador with apparent courtesy. He assured Lord Touch that he was anxious to live on terms of

amity with his good sister, and that she need have no anxiety as to the abolition in favour of the Catholic Lords, for, it was now abolished by their not accepting it. His councillors were complained of. He must confide in his council as the Queen did in her's; he was the last who would suffer any ill-affected persons to insinuate themselves among his ministers. This did not satisfy the ambassador. He insisted on something more practical. He would have deeds, not words. But it does not appear that he was able to divert the King from his purposes. He claimed to be as well skilled in statecraft as Elizabeth, and he would not be dictated to by a Princess who carried on a violent persecution of her Catholic subjects. The Queen favoured a new attack on her good brother by the inveterate rebel, Earl Bothwell. It only caused some annoyance; and this over, King James took his revenge on Elizabeth by addressing to her a letter quite as pithy and sarcastic as the scolding epistle she had sent to him by Lord Touch. The King's letter had the desired effect. Elizabeth was mollified and had no scruple in discarding her protege, Bothwell. When the ambassadors, bearers of the letter, invited her, in their master's name, to stand God-mother at the approaching baptism of the infant heir to the Scottish throne, she was all smiles to them, and was even more placable on the subject

of money, but, on the condition that the King should lose no time in setting out on his proposed expedition against the Catholic Earls, and thus shewed that he was in earnest.

The King now resolved to concentrate his whole strength against the Catholic leaders. As he thus conciliated the Kirk and the English faction, everything proceeded amicably and firmly. Huntly, Angus and Erroll, the three mighty chiefs, were now in open rebellion; and they were forfeited, stript of their estates and declared traitors, while the young Earl of Argyle, their declared enemy, received commission to assemble the forces of the North and pursue them with fire and sword. Meanwhile, all persons detected in saying Mass were ordered to be punished capitally and their goods confiscated. In order to preserve the "religion," and to confirm the friendship between the two nations, it was undertaken to thoroughly reform the King's Council, following Elizabeth's advice in such matters. The Catholic Countess of Huntley, whose intercourse with the King and Queen had been a sore point with the Kirk, was banished from the Court; Lord Hume recanted and signed the Confession of Faith; but, whether convinced in conscience, or terrified by the approaching cruelties, will never be known. The King, immediately after the baptism of the heir

apparent, would march in person, at the head of all the powers of his kingdom, against the insurgents. There was now an endless variety of festivities on occasion of the Royal baptism ; chariots, mimic ships, Christian knights, rural deities, Moors, windmills, and amazons contributed to make up the pageants, one of which of "deep moral meaning," was the fruitful product of His Majesty's own brain. It must have been a rare treat to see the hypocrite monarch playing the role of a moralist, and, although professing complete devotion to the Kirk, commissioning the Bishop of St. Andrews to baptise his son and heir. In the midst of all the revelry the expedition to the North was not forgot. James could never forget the refusal of the Catholic Barons to accept his absurd conditions of pacification ; and the Kirk considered that he was engaging in a holy war, that is, a war of religious persecution or more truly of extermination. Many other feelings, passions and motives of baser alloy, if baser could be, were at work, and dark inveterate hatred arising from private war and family feuds. There was the greatest exacerbation on both sides. Huntly, Angus, Erroll and Auchendown, ever since they rejected the act of abolition, had been making vigorous preparations ; and Bothwell, the King's hated enemy, now cast off by Elizabeth, joined their party and engaged to make

a diversion in the South, dividing and distracting the King's forces. He even proposed by a sudden *coup de main*, to attack the Court, imprison the King, and seize the infant Prince. The plot was rendered abortive by the seizure of certain agents connected with it.

CAP. III.

THE BATTLE OF GLENLIVAT—THE KING HAVING A POWERFUL ARMY DEFEATS THE BARONS—HE DEVASTATES HIS OWN COUNTRY AND DESTROYS THE FINE PALACE OF THE EARL OF HUNTLY, TOGETHER WITH THE MANSIONS OF SEVERAL OTHER NOBLEMEN—HE EXECUTES SOME OF HUNTLEY'S MEN—WHAT IT COST THE KING—DISAPPOINTED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH—REVIVAL OF CATHOLIC INFLUENCE—DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE COUNTRY—FAMINE—DISORDERLY BARONS BROUGHT TO JUSTICE—HUNTLY KEEPS HIS GROUND—REV. JOHN MORTON DETECTED—MINISTERS OF THE KIRK PROPOSE TORTURE, WHICH THE KING DOES NOT ALLOW—LAST MASS IN ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

Argyle had full commission to act against the Catholics; and he lost no time in his endeavour to execute it. In marching towards Aberdeen, he was joined by numerous bands; and, in a short time, he was at the head of ten thousand men. Of this number six thousand only were efficient soldiers. The rest, however, were provided with such arms as they were accustomed to, and they were undoubtedly

warlike. There was also with him a noted sorceress whose incantations were expected by the *reformed* people to bring to light the treasures which might be hid under ground by the terrified inhabitants. The hope of abundant plunder was a strong incentive to their bravery. He attempted the siege of some places on his way; but relinquishing this hopeless task, he proceeded through the hills of Strathbogie, with the fell purpose of ravaging that country which belonged to Huntly, with fire and sword. Reaching Drimnin in Strathdown, he encamped there; and soon after had information that Huntly was near at hand, and, notwithstanding his great inferiority of force, intended to attack him. The Catholic Lords had only two thousand men, or, as some say, something over fifteen hundred. They were, however true soldiers and commanded by experienced officers. They had also six pieces of ordnance under the skilful command of Captain Gray. Huntly, having reached Auchendown, learned, by his scouts, on the 3rd October, that Argyle was at no great distance. He sent forward a few horsemen to reconnoitre. They were conducted by a spy of Argyle to the vicinity of his encampment which was near Glenlivat, in the mountainous district of Strathavon. The officer who had gone to observe the enemy, on returning, concealed their numbers and said they

might be easily beaten by a few resolute men. Huntly followed his advice and marched forward. Erroll led the advance, supported by Sir Patrick Gordon, the Lairds of Gight, Bonniton, Wood, Captain Kerr and three hundred gentlemen. Huntly commanded the rear guard, having, on his right, the Laird of Clunie Gordon, and on his left, Gordon of Abergel. The six pieces of artillery were so placed as to be completely masked by the cavalry, and, so they were dragged forward unperceived, within range of the enemy's position. They opened fire, and at the first discharge, which was directed against the yellow standard of Argyle, struck down and slew MacNeill, the Laird of Barra's third son, one of their bravest officers, and Campbell of Loch-nell, who held the standard. This great success spread confusion among the Highlanders. A large body of them, yelling and brandishing their broad swords and axes, made some attempts to reach the horsemen; but receiving another fire from the artillery, they fled, and so fast that they were speedily out of sight and pursuit. A large body remained, nevertheless, and they had the advantage both of the sun which shone upon and dazzled their opponents, and the nature of the ground. Huntly's vanguard, notwithstanding, commanded by Erroll and Auchendown, advanced boldly to attack. Erroll, dreading

a marsh that lay between him and the enemy, moved forward along some firmer ground that lay on one side, hoping thus to take the enemy in the flank. Sir Patrick Gordon, impelled by his extraordinary ardour, made directly for the hill ; but, he and his horsemen, impeded by the swampy ground, remained exposed to a murderous fire from the enemy, who, in this part of the field, were led by McLean of Duart, a chieftain of great stature and prodigious strength. He was superiorly armed, wearing a shirt of mail and wielding a Danish battle-axe. He skillfully placed his force in a small copse wood near at hand, from which, protected against cavalry, they delivered their fire with great effect. Auchendown's ranks were fearfully thinned by the murderous fire ; but, far from being discouraged, he succeeded in disengaging his cavalry and galloped up the hill. To the great sorrow of his followers, he was struck with a bullet and fell from his horse. They were not, however, dismayed, but made strenuous efforts to rescue their chief. The furious enemy, to whom he was well known, rushed upon him, despatched him with their dirks, cut off his head and displayed it in savage triumph. This enraged the Gordons, who, fighting with fury and regardless of discipline, gave advantage to McLean. This chief, availing himself of the confusion, hemmed in the enemy's vanguard

and forced it into narrow space between his own force and Argyle's, hoping thus to cut them to pieces. But Huntly, observing their danger, hastened to their support. He made a furious attack on both Argyle and McLean, and called loudly on his friends to avenge Auchendown. There rode beside Argyle a person who, it may be said, had no business in battle, the Royal Herald. He was arrayed in his official costume with his tabard; and on it the red lion and double tressure. Such dress could be no protection on the battlefield. It only served to point him out to hostile vengeance, which was, at the moment, excited to the highest pitch. "At the Lion," roared the horsemen, as they ran him through with their spears, and laid him in the dust. The battle now raged for two hours with unusual fury. Erroll was wounded by a bullet in the arm, and a sharp barbed arrow pierced deep into his thigh, whilst his pennon, or guidon, was torn from him by McLean. Gordon of Gight received three bullet wounds and two plates of his steel coat were forced into his body. Of these wounds he died next day. Huntly himself was in the greatest danger. His horse was shot under him, and the enemy rushed forward to attack him on the ground with their knives and axes. But there was aid at hand. A devoted follower, Innermarkie, rescued him from his perilous

position and supplied him with a horse. He now charged the forces of Argyle with renewed vigour. They wavered and finally fled, in such numbers that there remained only twenty men around their chief. The young warrior, grieved and vexed, beyond measure, at this disgraceful desertion, shed tears of rage. He insisted on continuing the hopeless struggle; but, his friend, Murray of Tullibardine, seizing his bridle, forced him off the field. Seven hundred of his followers were slain in the pursuit which followed. The loss on Huntly's side was comparatively small. There fell some twenty gentlemen, of whom Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, was the most lamented; and there were fifty wounded. It was a great achievement, without parallel, it may be said, in all history. On Huntly's side, there were only from fifteen hundred to two thousand men, whilst Argyle had an army of ten thousand. Under such circumstances was fought and won the celebrated battle of Glenlivet. It was a brilliant, but useless victory—useless except in as far as it afforded a new proof that the cause in which it was achieved cannot be forwarded by the sword.

The King, unaware of all that had taken place, was now on his march, at the head of a powerful army, to the North. He was attended by a troop of warlike ministers of the Kirk, who looked on his ex-

pedition as a holy war—a crusade against “anti-Christ.” On reaching Dundee, he was met by the Earl of Argyle, who informed him of his own ignominious defeat. The news must have been anything but encouraging to the Monarch, who was far from warlike, and could not but remind him that *the battle is not always to the strong*. He was bent on revenge, however, and this purpose was the more easily accomplished, as Huntly was unable to master a force that could effectually oppose the army of the King. James, accordingly, meeting with no opposition, and encouraged by his ghostly advisers, the ministers, proceeded on his work of havoc and vengeance. The palace of Strathbogie, Huntly’s princely residence, was the first object of the royal fury. It was given to the flames, and the massive walls, which took fourteen years in building, were partly destroyed by gunpowder and partly quarried down by pioneers, a fanatical minister, Andrew Melville, bearing a pike and taking part in the “godly” work. There remained only the great old tower, whose strong masonry defied the pioneers and the powder. Slaines, the seat of Erroll came next; then the manor house of Culsamond in Garioch, Bagays, and Craig in Angus, together with the castles of Sir Walter Lindsay and Sir John Ogilvy, were ruthlessly destroyed. This was noble employ-

ment, it must be owned, for the future King of Great Britain, and a royal author who wrote philosophy that commanded the admiration of Europe. There would have been more havoc still, but for famine overtaking the devastating host and compelling it to retire on Aberdeen. All the victorious Monarch, who had fought no battle, could do there, was to execute some of Huntly's men. He punished only with fines such of the common people as had been at the battle of Glenlivet. Having made arrangements for the government of the North, he disbanded his army and returned to Stirling.

King James had now done enough, one would suppose, to meet the utmost expectations of Queen Elizabeth, and gratify the exacting Kirk. The Castles and Houses, which the ministers claimed had been "polluted" by the mass, were now only smoking ruins. The noblemen and gentlemen who desired only to retain their estates whilst they went into exile, rather than abjure the religion of their fathers, were fugitives and wanderers, hiding in the caves and forests, and dreading at every hour to be betrayed into the hands of their enemies. This was the victory the King had won, and not without great danger, for there were always plots against his life or liberty; and, in his expedition to the North, he had undergone much fatigue and privation. Worst

of all, he had impoverished his revenue, incurred heavy debts and laid burdens on his subjects in order that he might by one great effort extinguish the Catholic Faith and relieve Queen Elizabeth of all her fears.

He surely had a right to expect and he did confidently expect that all which his "good sister" had undertaken in his behalf, would now be generously fulfilled. He was miserably disappointed. The Queen, instead of the handsome allowance which had been promised to him, and to which he was entitled as heir apparent to the English crown, had an account trumped up by her financiers, which made it appear that, as regarded money, he was her debtor. He owed her £6,500. This was quite as much as her sister, Mary, and herself, had received from their father, Henry VIII. "*The wages of sin is death,*" and so the unfortunate James had, for the sole reward of all his crimes against his Catholic people, the extinction of his hope to reign in peace over the wilderness which he had made of their domains. Thus did Queen Elizabeth not only prove shamefully faithless to her "good brother" and heir, the King of Scotland; she was also untrue to herself, frustrating, most happily for mankind, her own cherished purposes. *Mentita est iniquitas sibi.* All the evils which she had done to the Catholics of Scotland by her

false promises to King James, and which gave her so much joy, were now to be alleviated through the inability of the King to perpetuate them. James was indignant at the base conduct of his "good sister." If she had kept her word and not broken the solemn promise she made to him through her ambassadors, the land would have been completely purged of "the enemies of God, and of religion in both countries." If these enemies had now revived and were looking confidently for Spanish aid, if recruits were raised in the Isles to assist the Catholics and Elizabeth's rebel, O'Neill, in Ireland; and if his own life were in danger from desperate men who were plotting against him in order to set up the infant Prince and hurl him from his throne; it was entirely due to the desertion of Queen Elizabeth. He had done his part, redeemed all his pledges, whilst the Queen failed to fulfil her promises, and now basely disowned them. She might take the consequences. For his part, he would look for other friendships and, contrary to his wishes, would accept other offers of assistance. Already the members of his council who were inclined to the Catholic side, had more influence than ever. What was to be done? He could only strengthen himself by seeking such alliances as were within his reach. His cruelty to the Catholic Earls and the friendship he had shewn to the Kirk, had alienated his foreign allies and the

influential body of the English Catholics. Add to all this the miseries which the contention of parties, the feuds of the Barons and the disastrous results of the King's campaign against the Catholics had produced. Nowhere was there peace and security. "Large bodies of soldiers," writes Mr. Fraser Tytler, "disbanded for want of pay, roamed over the country and committed every sort of robbery and excess. Ministers of religion were murdered ; fathers slain by their own sons ; brothers by their brethren ; married women ravished under their own roof ; houses with their miserable inmates burned amid savage mirth ; and the land so utterly wasted by fire, plunder and the total cessation of agricultural labour, that famine at last stalked in to complete the horrid picture, and destroy by the most horrible of deaths those who had escaped the sword."

In these trying circumstances there was no hope of remedy except through the energy of the King. His council, distracted by faction, was a nullity, and some of its chief dignitaries the worst offenders. Deserted by the English Queen and without means to maintain an army, the duped Monarch could no longer direct military operations against the Catholics of the land. Necessity compelled him to employ his abilities in more statesman-work. He convened the nobles, expressed his sympathy for the sufferings

of the people, and declared his determination to make every effort in order to relieve them. The extensive regions of the North could not be brought to order so long as certain powerful Barons continued their excesses. The leading chiefs among them were vigorously pursued. Athole, Lovat and McKenzie were committed to ward at Linlithgow; Argyle, Glenurchy and others were imprisoned at Edinburgh Castle; Tullibardine, Grandtully and some of their fiercest adherents were sent to prison at Dunbarton and Blackness. These Barons were only to be released when they made amends for the fearful excesses committed by their clansmen and retainers and gave security for restoring order to the country. The Catholic Earls, Huntly and Erroll, meanwhile, held their ground in Scotland, relying for assistance in men and money from the Court of Spain. Their hopes from that quarter were, however, doomed to disappointment. A messenger to them from the King of Spain and the Pope, intrusted with a secret mission, was so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. This person, the Rev. John Morton, was a Jesuit, and a brother of the Laird of Cambo. He had come to Scotland in a Dutch ship and was landed at Leith. Not being adequately disguised, a son of Mr. Erskine of Dun, who was his fellow-passenger, thought he detected

something else than a gentleman on his travels. He imparted his suspicion to one Lindsay, a Minister of the Kirk. This busy-body instantly pounced upon Father Morton, as he was called, who, being seized by the officers of justice, tore to pieces his secret instructions with his teeth. The fragments were gathered up and as far as possible deciphered. The King, who piqued himself upon his skill in cross-examining, undertook to interrogate the envoy, and not without success. He brought him to acknowledge that he was a Jesuit, while pretending to be a private gentleman returning to his native country for the benefit of his health; that he was confessor to the Catholic Seminary at Rome and was sent to Scotland by the Pope with messages from Cardinal Cajetano and Fathers Creighton and Tyrie to Mr. James Gordon, near relative of the Earl of Huntly. He was directed to express disapproval of the manner in which the funds lately sent had been disposed of and to say that no hope of further remittances could be held out until the Catholic Lords had justified their action before the councillors of the King of Spain in the Netherlands. The ministers of the Kirk (merciful ministers!) insisted on putting him to the torture. The King, less cruel than his ghostly advisers, would not consent to this, but was satisfied with his plain and candid narrative. There

was found on his person a small jewel on which was admirably represented the passion of our Lord minutely carved in ivory. This, he said, was a present from Cardinal Cajetano to the Queen of Scotland. James, taking it up, asked him to what use he applied it."

"To remind me," said the envoy "when I gaze on it and kiss it, of my Lord's Passion. Look, my Liege, how lifelike our Saviour is here seen hanging between the two thieves, whilst below the Roman soldier is piercing His sacred side with the lance. Oh! that I could prevail on my Sovereign but once to kiss it before he lays it down!" "No," said James, "the Word of God is enough to remind me of the Crucifixion, and, besides, this carving is so exceedingly small that I could not kiss Christ without kissing both the thieves and the executioners."

The discovery of this messenger was a severe blow to the party. To retire into temporary exile was the only resource, they believed, that remained. The Rev. Father Gordon, Huntly's uncle, implored them to stay. On a very solemn occasion when Mass was celebrated for the last time in the cathedral of Elgin, this devoted priest, descending from the high altar, and passing into the pulpit, exhorted them not to depart, but remain in their native country and hazard all for the Faith. They could not be persuaded, and the venerable priest, well aware that he could not

exist or exercise the duties of his office without the protection which they were still able to afford, resolved to accompany them. On the 17th of March, 1595, Erroll embarked at Peterhead, and on the 19th, Huntly, with his rev. uncle and a suite of sixteen persons, took ship at Aberdeen for Denmark; and purposed passing through Poland into Italy.

CAP. IV.

THE CATHOLIC BARONS IN EXILE—THE KING REJECTS THE BARBAROUS MEASURE PROPOSED BY THE KIRK—ABOUT 1590, ACCORDING TO PROTESTANT TESTIMONY, THE CATHOLIC CLERGY WERE LABOURING ZEALOUSLY FOR THE COMFORT OF THEIR BRETHREN—THE CATHOLIC BARONS RESTORED—HORROR OF THE KIRK—A “DAY OF HUMILIATION” AGAINST THE CATHOLICS—THE ROYAL POLICY OPPOSED TO PERSECUTION—INTOLERABLE LICENSE OF THE KIRK—BLACK’S EXCESS OF FANATICISM—THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE KIRK COMMANDED TO LEAVE THE CAPITAL—THE MINISTERS RAISE A TUMULT—THE KING WITHDRAWS TO LINLITHGOW; RETURNS WITH AN ARMY, AND CAUSES THE LAW TO BE RESPECTED—ESTABLISHES EPISCOPALIANISM—A SAD BLOW TO THE REFRACTORY KIRK.

Now that the Catholic Barons were in exile, the ministers of the Kirk made the utmost efforts to compass their complete ruin. They tried all in their power to induce the King to forfeit their estates and reduce them to beggary. So barbarous a measure the Monarch wisely refused to adopt. He had already done enough, he conceived, for the Kirk, and

he could not but consider it cruel and impolitic in the extreme, to extirpate the ancient Houses of Huntly, Erroll and Angus, and to punish, by utter ruin and extermination, parties who were already exiles for conscience sake. The Countesses of Huntly and Erroll were permitted to remain in Scotland; and arrangements were made by means of which the Earls themselves were saved from being wholly destitute. It was the policy of James to maintain a certain balance of power between the factions, keeping them all dependent on himself, leaning to the one or to the other, as the exigencies of the time required. To leave such great Barons as Huntly unmolested, in a position which rendered their restoration possible at any moment, was a powerful means of restraining the violence of their enemies.

About this time, 1590, according to the testimony of the Kirk, the Catholic clergy in Scotland were labouring zealously to confirm and comfort their brethren. The hope that the exiled Barons would soon return, gave them new courage, and they were confident that the King would not tolerate any violent measures against them on the part of the merciless Kirk, which was obliged to be satisfied with abusing them and uttering impotent blasphemies against religion. They were denounced as "excommunicated Papists," "Jesuits," "Anti-Christ's," etc., whilst

their chiefs, the Catholic Earls, were branded as rebels, traitors, etc., and the friends of these forfeited Earls, they complained, who remained at home were at large and enjoyed full liberty in the land.

Meanwhile the tide of Royal favour appeared to flow towards the Catholics. King James was disgusted with the narrow-mindedness and persecuting spirit of the ministers of the Kirk. The mean and niggard way in which his "good sister," Queen Elizabeth, had treated him helped to alienate him from her faction and incline him to show friendship to the Catholic party. These dispositions bore their fruit. Notwithstanding the opposition which he anticipated on the part of the Kirk, the King resolved on the restoration of the Catholic Barons. They were to submit, as in duty bound, to their Sovereign and offer no opposition to the Kirk. On this condition their cause was to be espoused by the Duke of Lennox. Soon afterwards, the Earl of Huntly came from the continent, and passing in disguise into Scotland, arrived safely among his friends, who, aware of the favour in which he was held at the Court, made the greatest efforts for his restoration. The Kirk was horror struck, and raised its cry of warning. But it was in vain, while giving utterance, in loud complaints, to their distress, they learned that the Earl of Erroll had been seen with Huntly

at his castle of the Bog of Gight, and that the powerful Earl of Angus had come secretly into the city of Perth. Worse than all, the Countess of Huntly was at Court; and having great influence, made overtures on the part of her husband. He had never, it was alleged in his behalf, plotted against the reformed religion since he left Scotland, and was willing to stand his trial if any one should presume to accuse him. He had no objections to confer with the ministers on the subject of religion; but a reasonable time must be allowed him to make up his mind.

His proposals and requests were only fair and moderate. But the Kirk was implacable. An "excommunicated traitor," as they called him, a man who had been guilty of "idolatry," a capital crime, and who, notwithstanding a sentence of banishment, had dared to return without leave, had no claim to propose any terms. The Kirk was in danger. Those Earls would not show themselves openly in the country unless their presence were acceptable to the King. The party that opposed *the truth* and the *liberty of the word of God* was strong, bold and confident of success, both in England and Scotland. If some great and determined resistance were not at once made, the Kirk, with all its boasted purity and privileges, would become the prey of *Anti-Christ*. A day of humiliation, accordingly, was appointed.

People and Ministers were called upon to weep and pray between the porch and the altar, for a land "polluted by the enemies of God." They also named sixteen commissioners who should sit at Edinburgh, represent the Church, as its council, and correspond with all parts of the country.

No wonder if the King was alarmed. This was, indeed, an *imperium in imperio*, which would have swept the government out of the hands of the civil power. At first, however, he thought it more politic to remonstrate; and this he did through some of the more moderate ministers. He would have them understand that their fears were groundless. The Barons had no intention of making war on him or them. They had thrown themselves on his mercy and he had taken them into favour. Why should not the clergy have the like consideration for repentance? The Barons desired to be reconciled. Why should the Church repel them, shut its doors in their faces, and doom them to despair?

King James was by nature inclined to clemency. The sentiments to which he gave utterance in opposition to the merciless Kirk, were no doubt sincerely entertained. This conduct was, at the same time, highly political. It would have been unwise, considering Queen Elizabeth's great age, and the influence of the Catholics in England as well as in his

own kingdom, to become a religious persecutor. It would have been an impediment to his accession to the English crown. The Kirk, too, disgusted him by its cruelty and the absurdity of the arguments urged by its ministers. The Catholic Earls, they maintained, could not be pardoned by the civil power. They were "idolators" and must suffer death. They could only be absolved on their repentance, by the Kirk, from the sentence of spiritual death. Some of the more moderate implored him to come to an agreement. This is impossible, he declared, so long as the limits of the two jurisdictions are vague and undistinguishable. In their preachings, he told them, their license was intolerable. They censured Prince, estates and Council. They convoked General Assemblies without any authority. They passed laws under the allegation that they were purely ecclesiastical, whilst they interfered with his prerogative and restricted the decisions of his Council and Judges. Their Synods and Presbyteries, under the name of scandal, fulminated the most bitter personal attacks, and drew under their censures every conceivable grievance. Agreement under such circumstance was out of the question. If made, it could not last for a moment.

During these discussions a minister called Black, not only denounced the threatened triumph of "idol-

atry" in Scotland, but, at the same time *uplifted his testimony* against English Prelacy. Queen Elizabeth was an atheist, her religion empty show dictated by a set of pseudo bishops. The King of Scotland was guilty of treachery in allowing the return of Papist Earls. But what could be expected? Was not Satan the head of both Court and Council? Were not all kings devil's bairns? Was not Satan in the Court, in the guiders of the Court, in the head of the Court? Such language, of course, could not be tolerated. King James claimed and surely was entitled to the right of judging and sentencing the offender. The Kirk and Black violently remonstrated, maintaining that the Church alone could judge such cases. The King stood firm. The man was tried and sentenced. His Majesty was unwilling to execute the sentence and made a new endeavour to gain the ministers. But in vain. It became necessary to forbid the commissioners to hold any more meetings, and they were commanded, by Royal proclamation, to leave the city within four and twenty hours, and repair to their flocks. They refused to obey; but ascended their pulpits and *dealt mightily with the power of the word* against the charge which commanded them to desert their duty. Later on, Black was found guilty of having falsely and treasonably slandered the King; the Queen, his Royal

Consort ; his neighbour Princess, the Queen of England ; and the Lords of Council and Session. He was imprisoned to await the King's pleasure. James, although he held the sword of justice over the criminal, was still anxious for a compromise. His leniency and friendly purposes were misinterpreted. They shewed, it was pretended, weakness and not a desire for peace. The commissioners of the Kirk would not in the least withdraw from their demands. No punishment, they declared, could be inflicted on a man *who had not yet been tried*. The Kirk proclaimed a fast, and once more commanded "to sound mightily." The King's patience was at an end. He commanded the commissioners instantly to leave the city, and ordered Black to enter into ward. He also published a lengthened declaration in which he justified his proceedings before his people. He concluded by saying that "he was resolved to enforce upon all his people, ministers of the Kirk as well as others, that obedience to the laws and reverence for the throne, without which no Christian kingdom could hold together. For this purpose certain bonds were in preparation, which the ministers should be required to subscribe under the penalty of a sequestration of their property,"

The ministers and their friends now caused a tumult in the capital which endangered the person of the

Monarch and obliged him to withdraw to his palace of Linlithgow. He summoned around him the border warriors and the hardy men of the North. All these approaching the city, the magistrates, ministers, burgesses and inhabitants generally were struck with terror and made submission to their Sovereign. The ministers were, as usual, the worst to deal with. They started propositions that were wholly inconsistent with the existence of the civil power. But, in such controversies, they were no match for the learned and acute Prince. Some of them, on account of their extreme violence, in the pulpit and at popular conventions, were obliged to leave the country. The King finally prevailed, and placed the authority of the State in such a light as to command, however much they abhorred it, the acceptance of the ministers. His next step was to establish the Episcopal form of Protestantism. This was a sad blow to the Kirk, and caused a diversion in favour of the Catholics. If the Kirk had been less exacting in its demands and less violent, it might have fared better.

CAP. V.

ENDEAVOUR OF KING JAMES TO RECONCILE THE CATHOLIC BARONS AND THE KIRK—THE KING TRYING WITCHES—HE DEALS SEVERELY WITH BORDER OFFENDERS—COMPLAINS OF THE WRONGS RECEIVED FROM ENGLAND IN THE MURDER OF HIS ROYAL MOTHER, THE WITH-HOLDING OF HIS ANNUITY AS HEIR APPARENT TO THE ENGLISH CROWN, ETC—HE APPOINTS 50 BISHOPS WITH SEATS IN PARLIAMENT—THE KIRK THUS DIVERTED FROM PERSECUTING CATHOLICS—THE KING WRITES A BOOK, IN WHICH HE ASCRIBES THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND TO TUMULT AND REBELLION—THE MINISTERS OFFENDED—THE BOOK MUCH ADMIRERD IN ENGLAND AND BY THE POPE—THE KING MAKES LITTLE ACCOUNT OF THE KIRK'S ENMITY—PROPOSES A TREATY WITH SPAIN—SENDS AN ENVOY TO ROME—STRIVES TO PUT AN END TO FEUDS—RECONCILES HUNTLY AND ARGYLE—GREAT REJOICING THEREAT—DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH—DEATH OF JAMES BETHUNE, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, AND EXTINCTION OF THE HIERARCHY—UNDISPUTED ACCESSION OF JAMES TO THE ENGLISH THRONE—THE CATHOLICS FULL OF HOPE—THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY AND OTHERS ALLOWED THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RELIGION—A JESUIT EXECUTED FOR AN ALLEGED CRIME AGAINST THE STATE—PERSECUTION IN 1628.

The King having overcome the popular tumult and returned to his capital, was now all-powerful, and prepared to inflict a new mortification on the refractory Kirk. This was nothing less than to reconcile to it the Catholic Earls, whose lives the ministers sought, in punishment of their "*idolatry*." The Earls were willing to be politically reconciled ; and they were so. The story of their conforming to the Kirk so completely as to sign the Confession of Faith and take what the ministers were pleased to call *the sacrament*, has all the appearance of being apocryphal. If, indeed, they signed, it was under coercion and in obedience to irresistible political emergency. The King had addressed a very peremptory letter to Huntly intimating to him that "the time was come when he must either embrace the Protestant faith, remain in Scotland, and be restored to his honors and estates, or leave his country forever, if his conscience were so kittle (tender) as to refuse these conditions ; in which case he must never look to be a Scotchman again." The letter thus concludes : " Deceive not yourself to think that by lingering of time your wife or your allies shall ever get you better conditions. I must love myself and my own estate better than all the world ; and think not that I will suffer any professing a contrary religion, to dwell in this land." James must have had a very *kittle* conscience himself, since, being a decided

Episcopalian, and besides, a really great philosopher, whose wisdom commanded the admiration of Europe, he could do so much for Presbyterianism. But, then he was a believer in political exigencies; and in this he required his Catholic Barons to be like himself. Why should not Catholicism, as well as Episcopalianism, fraternise with their antipodes, the Presbyterian system? If the Barons did so fraternise to the extent of signing the absurd Confession of Faith, they could not but do so, as many a Kirk probationer has done since, "with a smile or a sigh."

King James was now, 1597, too busy with the trial of witches to grieve over his recent troubles. The border districts required also to be pacified; and this he speedily effected by dealing more severely than he was wont with offenders. But they were no ordinary offenders, and fourteen of them were taken and hanged, while thirty-six of the principal Barons, by whom the robbers had been encouraged, were seized and conveyed prisoners to Edinburgh. Parliament now assembled, and the Monarch being now so powerful, shewed that he had some new cause of alienation from England. In an address to his nobility, he complained of the wrongs which he had received in the execution of his Royal mother; the interruption in the payment of his annuity as heir apparent to the English Crown; the scornful answers

to his temperate remonstrances; the injustice of Elizabeth in accusing him of exciting Poland and Denmark against her, and fostering rebellion in Ireland. Most of all, he was offended by the attempt recently made in the English Parliament to defeat his title to the throne of that kingdom. He was the more keenly sensitive on this point in consequence of the reports which daily reached him of the shattered health of the Queen. He could only take care to be on his guard against all possible occurrences. He now also resorted to his favourite purpose of introducing Bishops, and after much stormy controversy with the ministers, who contended that the project with its inherent evils, the dangers which it carried within its bowels, would be as fatal as was the wooden horse to the unwary Trojans, some fifty Bishops were appointed with seats in Parliament. The politic Monarch was far from foreseeing the bitter contests and bloody struggles "Prelacy" was destined to occasion in the days of his successors. In the meantime, it diverted, so far, the attention of the Kirk from its cruel work of persecuting Catholics.

A circumstance occurred this year, 1599, which greatly raised the hopes of the Catholics. The King wrote a book. This was the celebrated *Basilicon Doron*, which excited the admiration of all Europe, and was highly esteemed by the Pope. The Holy

Father pronounced its author the most learned Prince of the time, and he also expressed the hope that, as he had written so much sound philosophy and so much truth, he would finally embrace the whole truth. The Catholics of Scotland also entertained this hope and were jubilant over the Royal learning. One of the King's secretaries, who had been employed to copy the book, imprudently showed it to the minister, Andrew Melville, who took copies of certain passages, laid them before the Presbytery of St. Andrews, and accused the author, whose name he did not reveal, of having bitterly defamed the Kirk. The passages presented were probably those which contained an attack upon the Presbyterian form of Church government, and that the Prince of Wales, for whose teaching the work was written, was instructed to hold none for his friends but such as had been faithful to the late Queen of Scots. It was clear, the ministers argued, that no person entertaining such sentiments as were expressed in the book, could endure for any length of time the salutary discipline of the Kirk ; and that the severe and sweeping censure pronounced upon the Scottish reformation, as the offspring of popular tumult and rebellion, very plainly indicated the author's leaning to "Prelacy" and "Popery." What could be expected, said they, of a writer who described the leaders of

that glorious work as “fiery and seditious spirits,” who delighted to rule as “*Tribuni plebis* ;” and, having found the gust of government sweet, had brought about the wreck of two Queens ; and during a long minority had invariably placed themselves at the head of every faction which weakened and distracted the country ! What was to be hoped for if those men, who had been ever the champions of the Truth, were to be held up to scorn and avoidance, in terms such as these: “Take heed, therefore, my son, to such Puritans, very pests in the Church and common weal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths or promises bind; breathing nothing but seditions and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason ; and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the Great God, and, since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in—that ye shall never find, with any Highland or Border thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lies, and vile perjuries, than with these fanatical spirits.”

A rumour had spread through the country that King James was the author of the obnoxious passages, and that he had given instructions to the Prince which shewed inveterate enmity to the Kirk. It was thought that the best that could be done, in

order to silence the clamour, was to publish the work. It was published accordingly ; and it did more, Archbishop Spottiswood believed, in favour of James' title, by the admiration it caused in England for the piety and wisdom of its Royal author, than all the discourses on the succession that were circulated at the time. In Scotland, as was to be expected, it produced quite an opposite feeling. The wrath of the ministers was extreme. It was perfect phrensy.

The favour in which the Catholics of Scotland now stood was shewn on occasion of the arrival of a French ambassador. The English Queen and the ministers of the Kirk were dissatisfied because they suspected that this ambassador's mission was connected with the King's intrigues with Catholics abroad. The ambassador was of the House of Bethune, and a younger brother of the great Sully. He was much caressed at the Scottish Court. He had brought with him a Jesuit, and this priest was frequently closeted with the King. Sully was, of course, allowed the full exercise of his religion ; and this caused the ministers to grieve over the contrast of the present times of liberality and indifference to the Kirk, with the glorious days when it was death to celebrate mass in Scotland. But the wrath of the ministers was impotent and the Monarch all powerful. He was too well informed to heed their censures, and too strong to dread their waning influence.

When the ambassador of a Catholic Power was cordially received at the Court of Scotland, it was fitting and opportune that the King should send an envoy to Catholic Powers and to the chief of those Powers. Pourie Ogilvy, a Catholic Baron, was sent to Italy and Spain. At Venice and Rome, this diplomatist represented, and, as he alleged, by authority of the King, that this Monarch was prepared to receive instruction in the Catholic Faith and favourably hear its expounders. In Spain he assumed a still bolder tone. His Royal Master, he said, had resolved to punish the insults heaped upon him by Queen Elizabeth, and for this purpose was anxious to form an alliance with King Philip. Let them, therefore, conclude a treaty. The King of Scots, on his part, would become a Catholic, establish the true Faith in his kingdom, and, as a pledge of his sincerity, send his son to be educated at the Court of Spain. He would require, on the other hand, that Philip should renounce all claim to the English crown, advance to King James 500,000 ducats and send to his aid a force of 12,000 men. Philip was distrustful. He doubted the envoy's credentials; and although he treated him with courtesy, gave him no encouragement.

Another envoy was despatched to Rome. He claimed that he was commissioned by King James. This envoy, Mr. Drummond, carried with him to the

Papal Court a letter from his King to Clement VIII. in which it was suggested that the residence of a Scotch ambassador at Rome would be attended with the best effects, and he proposed that Drummond, Bishop of Vaison, a native of Scotland, should be appointed to this office. The ambassador proposed, moreover, and in the King's name, that His Majesty's son should be brought up in the Catholic Faith, and that King James would place his castle of Edinburgh in the hands of the Catholics. Ogilvy had acted a double part. He was a spy of Cecil as well as an envoy of the King of Scots. It was otherwise as regarded Drummond. The letter which he bore to Pope Clement, when challenged by Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, was shown to be genuine, bearing the signature of King James. This the King denied. But the letter was produced and published by Cardinal Bellarmine, when it was proved to bear the King's signature. On investigation being made, the Scotch Secretary of State, Lord Balmerino, who was a Catholic and nearly related to the Bishop of Vaison, confessed that he had presented the letter along with a mass of other papers, and that the King signed it without looking at its contents. This the wary Monarch was not likely to do; nor was it believed that he did. The light punishment inflicted on Balmerino showed that he had made himself a scapegoat.

to screen his Royal Master. However all this may be, it is certain that there was intercourse with Rome which produced a most favourable impression in the minds of all the Catholics, as regarded the Scottish Monarch. All parties in England now favoured him. In the summer of 1602 the English Lord Henry Howard wrote to the Earl of Mar, that "all men spoke as freely and certainly of the succession of the King of Scots, as if they were about to take the Oath of Allegiance to him in his own capital."

It remained only for the politic Monarch, after so many triumphs, the fruit of his "King-craft" and diplomacy, to put an end to the feuds which distracted his kingdom. The families of Argyle and Huntly were reconciled and a marriage arranged between the former nobleman's daughter and the son of the latter. The Duke of Lennox and a party headed by the Queen renounced their deadly variance with the Earl of Mar. The powerful Houses of Moray and Huntly, whose inveterate feud of forty years had so often spread havoc and terror over the finest portions of the country, came under the judicious and firm arbitration of King James and was at an end forever. This was great success. The English resident wrote to his Court: "Nothing was now heard but the voice of festivity and gratulation; the nobility feasting each other, consorting like brethren, and all

united in one loving bond for the surety and service of the King."

The year 1603 was a year of great events. It saw the bitter end of that most cruel enemy of all Catholics, Queen Elizabeth. It beheld also the undisputed accession of Scotland's King to the throne of England, and the death of James Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow, with whom perished the ancient Hierarchy of Scotland, which had subsisted without interruption ever since the second century.

The Catholics of Scotland, although deprived of their usual government, which they prized so highly, now enjoyed peace, and, encouraged by the recent conduct of the Monarch towards them, entertained the hope that there would be a long continuance of tranquility. We shall now see to what extent this hope was realized.

The more influential Catholics of Scotland continued to be favoured by the politic King James after he succeeded to the English crown. The Earl of Huntly, now a marquess, received the Royal sanction for the private exercise of his religion. The same favour was extended to Gordon of Craig, and it does not appear that for some time any serious persecution was attempted. The Catholics of Scotland were allowed to maintain an agent at London who negotiated for them, and so saved them from the interfer-

ence of the established Church. The severe laws against them were still, however, on the Statute Book, and there wanted not, in those dark days, the spirit of persecution which, ere long, caused them to be put in force. Several Jesuits who had returned from exile, were tried and once more sentenced to banishment. This was, as yet, the utmost penalty ; for, although John O'gilvie, a Jesuit, was executed at Glasgow, in 1615, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, it was for an alleged crime against the State, the crime of treason. No other priest was put to death under the cruel statutes that still existed.

We learn from a letter of Father William Lesly, who died Dean of St. Quintin's in France, that in 1628, Charles I. had addressed a proclamation to the Bishops and Ministers, requiring them to send to the Privy Council, twice in the year, a list of all Roman Catholics who refused to attend the service of the established Church. When convicted they were to be excommunicated and their goods confiscated. In another letter of date 1st September, 1630, he states that the Catholics who had appeared before the Council, in the previous month of July, had all been sentenced to banishment. Seven weeks were allowed for their departure and one-third of their rents was granted for the maintenance of their families, which would be forfeited if they returned to their country ;

and, besides, there was a penalty of fine and imprisonment. Father Lesly, soon after 1636, was appointed Superior of the Scotch College at Douay. His brother, Father Andrew Lesly, was a Missionary in Buchan. In May, 1647, this priest was arrested and committed to prison at Aberdeen. In March, 1648, he was in Edinburgh gaol, from which, through the influence of the Count de Montreal, the French ambassador, he was released in July of the same year, and ordered to quit the realm under penalty of death if he ventured to return.

CAP. VI.

ZEAL OF THE FEW REMAINING CLERGY—CLEMENT VIII ESTABLISHES A SCOTCH COLLEGE AT ROME—JURISDICTION IN SCOTLAND OF AN ENGLISH ARCH-PRIEST DISTASTEFUL—THAT OF AN ENGLISH BISHOP EQUALLY SO—A MISSIONARY BODY UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF A NATIVE SUPERIOR SANCTIONED BY THE HOLY SEE—THE REV. WILLIAM BALLANTYNE PREFECT OF THE MISSION—THE RESTORATION OF THE SEE OF THE ISLES DECREED BY PROPAGANDA—NO INCUMBENT FOUND—FATHER BALLANTYNE PERSECUTED BY THE COVENANTERS—WHEN RESTORED TO LIBERTY HE WAS EMINENTLY SUCCESSFUL—DISTINGUISHED CONVERTS—THE MISSION IN A DISORGANIZED CONDITION—FATHER BALLANTYNE LABOURS TO IMPROVE IT.

Only a small number of the Catholic clergy were able to remain at their posts after the "Reformation" was established. These few spread themselves over the country, comforting their brethren and administering to them the sacraments. Between 1580 and 1600 Jesuits, Benedictines, Franciscans, Lazarists and Augustinians established themselves in various districts, to which many of the refugee clergy had re-

tired The Jesuits had stations in Bræmar, Glencairn, Strathglas and Buchan. As may be supposed, there was but slender means of educating Catholics in Scotland. To educate ecclesiastics was utterly impossible. Pope Clement VIII, in view of this evil, founded the Scotch College at Rome, where, ever since, a certain number of clergy for Scotland have received suitable training. There is much valuable information in Father Blackhal's narrative. This zealous priest returned from Paris to Scotland in 1637 and acted as chaplain to the Countess of Aboyne, at Aboyne Castle, at the same time doing duty as a missionary, in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff. There is no record of Father Blackhal's final career. He was at Paris when he wrote his "narrative;" but how long he survived is unknown.

On the death of Bishop Watson of Lincoln, in 1584, an Archpriest was appointed to preside over the clergy of England, with episcopal jurisdiction, also, over the Catholics of Scotland. This arrangement was exceedingly distasteful to the native Scotch. They had an invincible dislike to any foreign authority, especially if it were English. The Scotch priest, Rev. G. Blackwell, was nominated in the year 1598, and was succeeded by a Vicar Apostolic who enjoyed the title and dignity of Bishop of Chalcedon. He also possessed jurisdiction over

Scotland. But, in consequence of repeated representations made by the clergy to the Court of Rome, Pope Gregory XV. ordered the Right Reverend Bishop to cease exercising ecclesiastical authority in Scotland.

It was not till 1629, that proposals were made for constituting a missionary body in Scotland under the jurisdiction of a native superior. In that year Father William O'Gilvy received faculties from Pope Urban VIII., as *Prefect of the Mission*. In 1653, the Scotch secular clergy, freed from the jurisdiction of English Prelates, and the authority of the Order of Jesuits, were incorporated as a missionary body by a decree of Propaganda, and were placed under the superintendence of the Rev. Wm. Ballantyne, who thus became *Prefect of the Mission*. The missionaries were greatly strengthened by this appointment; and indeed, Father Ballantyne administered the affairs of the mission with great ability, and, considering the circumstances of the country, not without success. He was not, however, without his trials. The regular clergy were disinclined to render complete obedience to one who, although possessing extraordinary faculties, was not a consecrated bishop. It was much desired accordingly, that such a dignitary should be appointed, there being no doubt that he would command, as well as deserve, the respect and obedience of all the

clergy, both secular and regular. The missionaries earnestly supplicated the Court of Rome for the appointment of a bishop with jurisdiction over all Scotland. Their request, however, was not complied with till after the time of two Prefects, Messrs. Ballantyne and Winchester.

It was hoped, at this time, to revive the See of the Isles. The scheme for its restoration was not unreasonable, as the majority of the Scotch Catholics belonged to the Highlands and Islands, where, on account of remoteness and comparative inaccessibility, the Catholics were protected from the legal penalties which weighed so heavy on their brethren of the Lowlands. In 1634 the restoration of this See was actually decreed by the Congregation of Propaganda. But an incumbent could not be found. A good Irish priest was suggested. His slight acquaintance with the language and habits of the people was, however, considered an impediment. Father Hugh Semple, of the Society of Jesuits, Rector of the Scotch College of Madrid, speaks in forcible terms of the advantages of such an appointment. "I have desired for many years to see a Bishop in the wild regions of the Hebrides, to instruct and form the priests, to settle disputes among the Catholics, and to administer the sacraments of orders and confirmation; distinguished in his life, his preaching, his manners, his in-

fluence, and possessing the same authority as the Bishops in Ireland. I am aware that the scheme is opposed by many from motives of private advantage, or from excess of timidity, but the glory of God, the public good, the custom, and the advancement of the Church call for it. I know of no one better fitted for the office than the Prefect of the Franciscans in the Scotch missions, in whom all the characteristics of a good pastor are found. I have sent him and his companions some ecclesiastical ornaments and some alms, and I will do my best, every year, to relieve his necessities." The desirable and desired appointment was not yet, however, to be obtained.

Father Ballantyne, the son of a Protestant minister and a convert to the Catholic Faith, having qualified himself for missionary duties in the colleges abroad, came to Scotland in 1649. His *welcome* was of the rudest kind. The Covenanters, who had notice of his coming, seized him and confiscated all his books and papers. Of course he was a prisoner; but, ere long regaining his liberty, he set about fulfilling the duties of his office, without any fear of the dangers by which he was surrounded. He had no hesitation in conversing with Protestants. Endowed with great natural abilities, he had perfected himself by superior studies, and was, in consequence, able to contend with the most learned. He did so with eminent success.

Gifted with extraordinary suavity of manner, those who were most pressed, perhaps chagrined by the cogency of his arguments, shewed no hostility, whilst others were convinced and embraced the Catholic Faith. Of these were several persons of distinction ; among whom was his younger brother, Archibald, who, having at first been a page to the Elector Palatine, rose to be major in the army of the Covenanters. He did not long survive his conversion. His death was that of a truly pious Christian.

Father Ballantyne had great difficulties to contend with. Not the least of these was the disorganized state of the missions. For the secular clergy there was no order or regular mode of action. Each priest, ever since the extinction of the hierarchy, was accustomed to do just as he pleased. No one had a special missionary district assigned to him. The whole country, so to say, was the mission of each priest ; and the clergy, in consequence, endeavouring to extend their labours to every place, no where produced satisfactory results. It was impossible for them to administer regularly the sacraments, or effectually impart instruction. In cases of severe sickness, it was not known where to find them. Several of them would arrive, at once, at the house of a comparatively poor man who could scarcely afford to entertain even one. Under such circumstances, what was to become

of their sacred ministrations? It was somewhat otherwise with the regular clergy. They at least owed obedience to the superiors of their respective societies, and thus order was maintained. But their disinclination to be guided by the Prefect of the Mission, who was not a Bishop, considerably neutralized their efforts as missionaries.

Father Ballantyne, in order to devise some means for correcting so many evils, repaired to Paris with a view to consult with his brethren in France. He was so fortunate as to meet with a former fellow-student, a man of ability, Mr. William Leslie, who was of a respectable Scotch family. Mr. Leslie, who was completing his preparation for the ministry at the Seminary of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, entered warmly into the views of Father Ballantyne. Cardinal Charles Barberini, the Legate to France, was, at the time, preparing to return to Italy. He was anxious to secure the services of a Scotch Priest to conduct the education of his youthful nephew. Father Ballantyne recommended Mr. Leslie; and, at the same time, imparted to the Legate his purpose of having a representative at the Court of Rome who should have charge to attend to the interests of the Scotch missions. The Cardinal took a favourable view of his plan and promised to support it at Rome with all his influence. Mr. Leslie at first objected

to the arrangement, on the ground that the office which was proposed for him would divert his attention from the service of the mission. He soon, however, yielded to the persuasions of his friend, who represented to him that it would best serve the cause they had at heart, to accept the Legate's offer. It would not only secure to him a respectable maintenance and honourable position in the Holy City, but, at the same time, the countenance and support of the eminent Cardinal. Mr. Leslie, accordingly, proceeded to Rome in the suite of His Eminence; and Father Ballantyne returned to Scotland, accompanied by four of his former fellow-students, Messrs. Walker, Lumsden, Creighton and Smith.

CAP. VII.

TYRANNY OF THE COVENANT—EXTINGUISHED BY CROMWELL—NUMBER AND STRENGTH OF CATHOLICS DIMINISHED—MANY RECONCILED BY FATHER BALLANTYNE—ORGANIZATION OF THE MISSION BY MR. LESLIE OPPOSED AT ROME—PROPAGANDA FAVOURABLE—ORGANIZATION UNDER A PREFECT DECIDED ON—A GRANT OF 500 CROWNS BY PROPAGANDA—PROFESSION OF A SISTER OF THE MARCHIONESS OF HUNTLY--FATHER BALLANTYNE'S JOURNEYINGS ON THE OCCASION AND HIS IMPRISONMENT—HE PREACHES BEFORE QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA AT PARIS—AN APOSTATE RECONCILED—DEATH OF FATHER BALLANTYNE—PROPAGANDA ADVISES THE CLERGY TO AVOID POLITICS AND FOREIGN ALLIANCES—MR. WINSTER'S SERVICES—APPOINTED SUCCESSOR TO FATHER BALLANTYNE--PERSECUTING POLICY OF CROMWELL REVERSED—A PERIOD OF PEACE—SCHOOLS IN THE HIGHLANDS—STATE OF THE COUNTRY LITTLE KNOWN AT ROME—SCARCELY ANY CATHOLICS IN THE LOWLANDS—THE OATES' CONSPIRACY—PRIESTS OBLIGED TO CONCEAL THEMSELVES—VISITATION OF THE MISSION IN 1679—VALUABLE STATISTICS THE RESULT—ZEAL OF THE CLERGY SHOWN--THE CONGREGATIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS BEGINNING TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS THE SUPPORT OF THEIR PASTORS—IMPEDIMENTS TO THE APPOINTMENT OF A BISHOP.

At the time of Mr. Ballantyne's return to Scotland, (1650) the tyranny of the Covenant was at its height, From 1637 to 1650, the reign of terror prevailed and raged with redoubled fury in consequence of the defeat and death of the brave Montrose. It was however, near its end. Cromwell won the battle of Dunbar, became master of the North and extinguished the terrible Covenant. As was to be supposed, the number and strength of the Catholics were considerably diminished by such a long and exterminating persecution. Many who had fallen away were reconciled to the Church by Father Ballantyne. Of this number was the Marquess of Huntly, in whose house the Rev. Prefect chiefly resided.

Meanwhile, Mr. Leslie was labouring at Rome in the prosecution of the important work which he had in charge. He was not, however, without opposition. Some from excessive caution, others from interested motives, opposed his plan. There were not wanting among the religious orders, parties who looked more to the importance of their society than the good of religion. Their influence, hitherto paramount among the Catholics of Scotland, would be greatly diminished if the secular mission came to be thoroughly organized. The Congregation of Propaganda, which was recently established, took a

more favourable view of the question. Mr. Leslie, relying on their impartiality, laid before them a detailed account of the state of affairs in Scotland. He imparted to the Cardinals his own views and those of his friends regarding the causes which had militated, hitherto, against the efficiency of the mission, and suggested the means by which it was thought they might be removed. The necessity of appointing a bishop was particularly and earnestly insisted on. The Cardinals of Propaganda had already sufficient experience in the management of missionary countries, to see and recognize the justice of the agent's application. All that he desired, however, could not, at the time, be obtained, so formidable was the opposition to his proposals. Diplomacy is never in a hurry. It was only after three years of negotiation that it was decided that the mission should be regularly organized under a Prefect. But, it could not be obtained that the Prefect should be a bishop. On Father Ballantyne, as Prefect, were conferred very ample faculties, although not so complete as Mr. Leslie had petitioned for. The temporal was not forgotten; 500 crowns of annuity were allotted to ten missionaries. All this was done in 1663, from which year dates the commencement of the Scotch mission. Father Ballantyne and his friends were much gratified by this great, although

partial success. It appeared to them that a day of prosperity had now dawned for the Catholics of Scotland.

Three years more of useful labours and the zealous Prefect was, in 1656, requested by the Marchioness of Huntly to repair to France in order to be present at the profession of one of her sisters in a community of nuns. The vessel in which he embarked for Dieppe was boarded by an Ostend cruiser, and all the passengers were made prisoners. When they were taken before the Governor at Ostend, Father Ballantyne informed him privately that he was a Catholic priest and was immediately set at liberty. Another passenger, Lord Conway, seeing this, and being ignorant of the cause, concluded that Father Ballantyne was a spy, and threatened to denounce him as such, on his return to Rye, unless he also at once were liberated. The Prefect had no power in the matter, and Conway having gained his liberty in some other way, gave information at Rye, which led to the arrest of Father Ballantyne as a spy of Spain, as soon as he landed in England. He was sent to London and interrogated by Mr. Thurlow, Secretary of the Lord Protector Cromwell. Being pressed to account for his prompt liberation at Ostend, he ventured to run the risk of incurring legal penalties and admitted that he was a priest on a journey. The

Secretary believed him and gave him in charge to a messenger at Westminster. In this man's house he lived for about a year. The Secretary often visited him and acknowledged that he was won by his piety, patience and courteous manner. He was liberated on condition of going into exile. Such were the laws of the time. The Secretary, to his credit let it be told, paid a part of his fees and expenses.

Father Ballantyne found his way back to Paris in great poverty. He thence dispatched a report of his mission to Propaganda. Mr. Leslie, his friend and agent at Rome, obtained for him £50 sterling in order to meet the expenses caused by his imprisonment. There was granted, in addition, a sum that was sufficient for paying his way back to Scotland, and for providing vestments and sacred utensils, of which there was so much need. The Rev. Prefect was not without honour at Paris. By special invitation he preached before the Queen Dowager of Great Britain, Henrietta Maria, in the Church of the English Sisters. At the conclusion of his sermon, Her Majesty presented him with a very fine alb. He reached Scotland without any more mishaps, and resided in the house of the Marchioness of Huntly at Elgin.

During the absence of Father Ballantyne, one of the small body of missionary priests, Mr. Creighton,

was induced, by the prospect of worldly advantages, to conform to the Kirk. This apostacy was a severe blow to the worthy Prefect, who, on his return, visited the erring brother, and by his powerful persuasion, brought him back to the fold. Creighton was truly penitent and signed two recantations, one to be sent to the Presbytery, and the other for distribution among the Catholics. He was in delicate health at the time, and in six weeks after Father Ballantyne's return to Scotland, departed this life in sentiments of sincere piety.

In little more than a year of the time of his return, the venerable Prefect himself was taken from this world. He had retired, after visiting the missionaries, to the house of the Marchioness of Huntly at Elgin, and from thence sent to Rome his report of the state of the mission. He could hardly have been fifty years of age. He was interred in the Marquess of Huntly's aisle in Elgin Cathedral. The magistrates and citizens testified their esteem by attending the funeral. In a letter addressed to Propaganda by Messrs. Winster and Lumsden, in the name of all the missionaries, the writers say: "There has not happened the death of a private person that has been so much regretted by every class of people, Protestants as well as Catholics. The former, though they bear the most inveterate hatred to our holy religion,

loved and esteemed our Prefect. For, Almighty God had endowed him with such a singular degree of prudence, and with a modesty and humility so engaging, as to render him amiable to everyone with whom he conversed. Twelve years he laboured with unremitting assiduity for the propagation of the Faith in this country. From the time of his late long imprisonment he never enjoyed good health. All the helps of physicians and medicines this country could afford were liberally provided for him by the pious Marchioness in whose house he expired." The letter also states that the Prefect was blessed to enjoy in his last moments all the aids and consolations of religion.

Father Ballantyne was a man of highly cultivated mind and most exemplary piety. He will be long lovingly remembered by the Catholics of Scotland, not only as a man of piety and learning, as well as an excellent priest, but also as the founder of the missionary body of secular priests, that has subsisted, always increasing its members and extending its influence, till the restoration of the hierarchy by the reigning Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII.

In 1657 Mr. Alexander Winster, who had studied at the Scotch College in Rome, came to preside over the mission in Scotland. He was directed, on leaving Rome, to repair to Paris in order to consult with

Mr. Barclay, president of the Scotch College there, in regard to his plan and to arrange with him for holding correspondence with Paris. The Congregation of Propaganda, ever true to its mission, contemplated establishing a school in the Highlands, and it desired Mr. Winster to report on the possibility of founding such an institution. The congregation instructed him, moreover, to restrict himself to preaching the gospel, only, and not France or Spain, and, by no means, to interfere in politics, or encourage to rebellion. Propaganda was well aware how injurious to the cause of religion had been the frequent and ineffectual attempts of the Scotch Catholics to obtain the aid of foreign powers in order to secure their deliverance from the evils of persecution. The ability and active habits of Mr. Winster enabled him to render signal services to his brethren. It was through his skilful management that Father Ballantyne was liberated from prison. It was difficult and dangerous, in those times, to hold any correspondence on Catholic affairs. Mr. Winster overcame this difficulty by adopting an ambiguous and obscure style, so that his language could only be interpreted by those to whom he wished to convey information. He was the only one of the missionaries who could venture to correspond with friends on the continent, on political matters as well as religion ; and he always did so with

impunity. As a missionary he was zealous and most useful. Although very much younger than his brethren, he soon gained their confidence. Such was Father Ballantyne's opinion of him that he associated him with Mr. Lumsden in the temporary charge of the mission, whilst he was himself absent from the country. On the death of the venerable Prefect, Mr. Winster was unanimously chosen, by the missionaries, vice-Prefect. Their choice was ratified by Propaganda. In June, 1662, the congregation appointed him successor to Father Ballantyne.

The restoration of King Charles II. was a fortunate event for the Catholics of Scotland, and they were led to hope that their worst trials were at an end. The marriage of the King with a Catholic Princess greatly improved their prospects. The estates which had been confiscated by Cromwell, were restored, and there was even some hope that the penal laws would be moderated if not entirely repealed. There were, however, outbreaks of fanaticism in remote and ignorant localities, that could not be influenced by public opinion. The mission, now under the superintendence of Mr. Winster, did not fail to avail itself of this period of comparative calm, to promote its growth and consolidation. As we have seen, the secular clergy were without government, and consequently, followed no system in the exercise of their

missionary duties. They could now, under the guidance of a superior whom they respected, render great and lasting services to the cause of religion. They were somewhat impeded, however, by a certain amount of jealousy on the part of the religious orders. Without being a religious society, they had, and by authority, assumed the form and order of one. Hence there could not well fail to be some degree of rivalry. Nevertheless, much good was accomplished and great peace enjoyed during the ten years that succeeded the death of Father Ballantyne. It was during this peaceful time that the first endeavour was made to establish schools in the Highlands: In those days, fifty crowns a year was considered a sufficient income for a missionary priest; and the same amount was allotted to each schoolmaster. Two schools were established, one in Glengarry, and the other in the Island of Barra. The Cardinals of Propaganda could have had no idea of the geography of Scotland, when they required that Catholic children from all parts of the country should attend those schools. The worthy Prefect, however, was able to show them that such attendance was impossible. In fact, he plainly told them that Catholics in Scotland would as lief send their children to be educated in the West Indies, as in the Island of Barra. The state of the mission, at the time, and the distribution of

Catholics scattered over the country, were but little known at Rome. Hence the resolution of Propaganda that a missionary priest should be placed in charge of each of the ancient dioceses. This idea they abandoned on being better informed by Mr. Winster, who represented that, whilst in the ancient diocese of the Isles, there were so many Catholics as to require the services of five priests, in other parts of the country, the Lowlands particularly, there was scarcely one Catholic.

The Prefect now strongly urged that a visitation of the mission should be made, as the best means of informing the Propaganda, and a report of the same by a competent priest laid before the Cardinals. The peace which the Catholics had enjoyed for some time was now seriously disturbed and their sufferings increased by the Oates' conspiracy in 1678. Mobs and riotous assemblies became so threatening that the missionary priests were obliged to conceal themselves for several months. In the following year, 1679, the visitation which the Prefect so much desired took place. It is necessary to refer to it, as whatever is known of the state of the mission at the time, is derived from it. The decree of Propaganda, originating it, is dated 1677 ; but, it was not undertaken until the agitation caused by the Oates' conspiracy, had subsided, Mr. Alexander Leslie, a brother of the

Scotch agent at Rome, was chosen visitor. This gentleman was not without experience. He had served the mission, ten years, as a priest. The country was in such a disordered state, the Presbyterian population being at war with their Sovereign, that Mr. Leslie found it difficult to fulfil the duties of his office. He managed, however, to visit all the districts in which there were Catholics, and conversed with the leading parties among them, and with the priests. He thus became familiar with their state and requirements, collecting, at the same time, information for his report. He considered the number of Catholic communicants in the whole country to be 14,000. Of this number, 12,000 inhabited the Highlands, where, from the remoteness and comparative inaccessibility of the country, they were safer than their brethren in the Lowlands, who, on account of the close proximity of the courts of law, were, at every moment, in danger of the penal laws. The few Catholics of the Lowlands were widely scattered. In Galloway there were 350; in Glasgow and the neighbourhood, 50; in Forfarshire and Kincardineshire, 72; in Aberdeenshire, 405; in Banffshire, 1,000; and in Morayshire, 8. In the Highlands there were only four priests, all of whom, except one, were from Ireland. They were all most zealous. Neither the stormiest weather, nor the

worst of roads, could hinder them from going to assist the dying. But owing to distance and the difficulty of travelling, they often arrived too late. With the exception of some chaplains, none of them had fixed residences. This was attended with great inconvenience, both as regarded themselves and their flocks. It was scarcely ever known where to find them, and the habit of moving constantly from place to place, rendered it impossible for them to apply to the necessary studies. In Mr. Ballantyne's time an endeavour was made to induce each priest to limit himself to a certain sphere of duty, but the good Prefect had no authority to enforce such a regulation. Hence, notwithstanding the best endeavours of the clergy, only few Catholics could hear Mass oftener than thrice in the year, while, for months together, whole districts were without any spiritual ministrations. In addition, the missionaries suffered from the inadequacy of their incomes. Almost all that they had to rely on was a subsidy of 500 crowns, granted by Propaganda for the whole mission. The people had not yet learned to supply the temporal wants of their pastors. The Church, in its better days, had no need of such aid. On the contrary, the churchmen of Scotland were always able, and they were often called upon to assist even the Sovereign with the funds at their command, The Highland

Catholics were the first to yield to the representations of the clergy, and out of their poverty contributed as much as they could afford. The parsimonious Lowlanders, with the exception of some rich and noble families who maintained chaplains, refused and continued to refuse, for another century, to contribute anything towards the support of their pastors. The question was again raised as to confining each priest to a certain district. But opinion was so divided that it was considered nothing could be done, in this direction, till the appointment of a bishop. Such appointment was desirable and much desired; but there were many impediments; not the least of which was the impossibility, at the time, of providing for him a sufficient income. There was also an obstacle in the state of the country. The Presbyterians had become somewhat reconciled to the idea of Presbyters living amongst them. Their prejudice against bishops was as inveterate as ever. It was all the more so on account of the attempts to force upon the country "bishops" according to the Anglican establishment.

CAP. VIII.

A DISTRICT ASSIGNED TO EACH PRIEST, AS HIS PARISH—

MR. LESLIE ON HIS RETURN FROM ROME, IMPRISONED—HIS GREAT REPUTATION FOR SANCTITY—FAVOURED WITH EXTRAORDINARY WARNINGS OF DANGER—YEARLY MEETING OF THE CLERGY AND REPORT TO PROPAGANDA DECREED—FIRST MEETING IN 1686—UNIFORM STYLE DESIRED; OLD STYLE BEING STILL GENERALLY FOLLOWED IN GREAT BRITAIN—ACCESSION OF JAMES II. AND VII—THE HIGH HOPES OF CATHOLICS DISAPPOINTED—RIOT AT EDINBURGH—PERSECUTION CONTINUED TILL THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY; MODERATED AS THEIR REIGN PROCEEDED—REMARKABLE TESTIMONY—"A DISGRACEFUL LAW" (KNIGHT) NULLIFIED BY KING WILLIAM AND THE JUDGES—A BISHOP DESIRED—REV. THOMAS NICHOLSON APPOINTED—AT FIRST MUCH PERSECUTED, THIS PRELATE SURVIVED 20 YEARS, IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS LABORIOUS DUTIES.

When Mr. Leslie's visitation came to an end, he repaired to Rome (1680) and reported it in person to the Cardinals of Propaganda. It led to the promulgation of several salutary regulations. Among

other things it was ordained that the priests should confine themselves, each to a certain district which should be to him as his parish, and thus be more useful to the people under his spiritual charge. It is not a little extraordinary that the religious orders strenuously opposed this arrangement, claiming the right to exercise their ministry, as hitherto, in all parts of the country. Their persistence in this Peripatetic system caused great inconvenience to the secular clergy, particularly at the Easter time.

On his return to Scotland, Mr. Leslie was cast into prison, during the evil days that occurred in consequence of the Revolution of 1688. In order to escape the myrmidons of the law, he had assumed the name of "hardboots." But it is not certain that this was not a nickname insultingly applied. He enjoyed among his contemporaries the reputation of being a very holy man. It would be too much to say that he was favoured with miraculous interventions. But the following circumstance affords ground for believing that he lived under special providential protection. During the worst times of persecution he was sometimes forewarned of danger by a preternatural shaking of his bed at night. This was particularly the case when he was residing in the house of Glastirum in the Enzie, Banffshire. All of a sudden his bed began to shake. He rose and

struck a light. At the time there were several parties of soldiers scouring the country in search of priests. Seeing a light at Glastirum, a house which was much resorted to by the Catholic clergy, they concluded that some of their friends were already there, and so thought it unnecessary to search the house themselves. The same thing occurred to him at Fyvie in Aberdeenshire. Aroused there by the shaking of his bed, he was enabled to get away from a party of soldiers in pursuit of him. He was, however, caught at last and imprisoned for two years. He died at Banff in the beginning of last century.

The secular clergy were now in the habit of confining themselves to their respective charges. The pious Jesuits came at last, also, to accept the new and better arrangement. It was regulated, likewise, after the presentation of Mr. Leslie's report, that the missionary priests should meet once in the year, and report on the state of the mission to the Cardinals of Propaganda. It was difficult for the poor and scattered clergy to comply with this requirement. The worthy Prefect represented accordingly, and pleaded for a mitigation of the rule. But to no purpose. Propaganda insisted, threatening even to withdraw the annual subsidy unless the meeting were held and the report presented every year. The first meeting was in 1686. Many questions of discipline were dis-

cussed and referred to Propaganda. Among these were the marriages of the people and the celebration of Easter and other Festivals according to a uniform style. Some had adopted the new style, whilst others adhered to the old, which was still generally followed, in Great Britain, for many years. The meeting, in their report, earnestly prayed the Cardinals to send more priests and to augment the yearly subsidy. They failed not also to request that their Eminences would continue their careful superintendence.

The hopes of the Catholics were greatly raised by the accession of James II. to the throne of Great Britain. What might they not expect under the rule of a Catholic King? A new era, they believed, had come. Persecution would be no more, and everything favour the growth of the Catholic Faith. How grievously were they not disappointed! It was not unreasonable, however, that relying on the good will of the well intentioned but weak Monarch, they should endeavour to have a Bishop appointed, and otherwise improve their condition. They naturally looked to the Catholic King, as well as to Rome, in petitioning for a Bishop. Their earnest endeavours, however were all frustrated by hostile intrigues. They renewed their efforts on occasion of the English Catholics obtaining Bishops. This time, 1688, they were dis-

appointed by the overthrow of King James. They were now at the mercy of ignorant and fanatical mobs. A fearful riot occurred at Edinburgh. The chapel of Holyrood, which had been recently renewed at great cost, was attacked and defaced. The house of the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of the Kingdom, and a recent convert to the Catholic Faith, was sacked, and a general search made for priests and altar furnishings. The Prefect, who resided at Edinburgh for some months before the riot, and had won so much the general esteem, escaped arrest. The mob, once masters of the city, however, he was obliged to take refuge in the castle, which was held by the Duke of Gordon for King James. He retired afterwards to the North, on bail, and resided, once more, at Gordon Castle. One may imagine how it fared with the missionary clergy throughout the country. Some were seized and imprisoned, others were banished the Kingdom. They who remained were in constant dread and danger of arrest.

The persecution moderated as the new reign proceeded. The French Ambassador, M. Tallard, wrote to his Court in 1698, that the Catholic religion "is here tolerated more openly than it was even in the time of King Charles II., and it seems evident that the King of England has determined to leave it in peace." This important testimony regards Scot-

land as well as England, William III. being King of both countries. The intolerant Parliament, which, in opposition to the King's declared wishes, passed the infamous act "for preventing the growth of Popery," bears witness to the same effect. In the preamble to the said act, it recites "that there has been a greater resort into this Kingdom than formerly, of Popish bishops, priests and Jesuits." It is then enacted that "any person apprehending and prosecuting to conviction, any such bishop, priest or Jesuit, for saying Mass or exercising any priestly function, is to receive a reward of a hundred pounds. The punishment for such convicted persons, or for a Papist keeping a school, is to be perpetual imprisonment. Every person educated in the Popish religion, upon attaining the age of eighteen, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, and the worship of saints, and in default of such oath and subscription, is declared incapable of purchasing lands, or of inheriting lands under any devise or limitation, the next of kin being a Protestant, to enjoy such devised lands during life." This atrocious act, Mr. Knight, in his "Popular History of England," characterizes as the most *disgraceful* law of the reign. It aimed at the total extirpation of the Catholic inhabitants of the United Kingdom. As to the tolerant

disposition of King William, who protected them hitherto, it continued still to shield them in the face of the above savage enactment. In this the Monarch was supported by the better spirit that prevailed among the people. The Judges also, unlike the Jeffreys *et hoc genus omne*, of a former reign, by their ingenious interpretations of the statute, mercifully frustrated the designs of parties who were so malevolent as to prosecute. "The judges," writes Mr. Hallam, "put such constructions on the clause of forfeiture, as to elude its efficacy; and I believe there were scarcely any instances of a loss of property under this law." King William, with all his inclination to be tolerant, could not, as he was a constitutional Sovereign, place himself in opposition to his Parliament. His predecessor, being an absolute Monarch, did so when he proclaimed liberty of conscience. It cost him his throne and brought a flood of evils on the people whom he wished to serve. King William often suffered the greatest anguish of mind in bowing to the will of Parliament. But he held his ground, and, by his extraordinary force of character, caused his principles to be respected. He must no doubt have been influenced in this direction by the friendship shown him by two Popes, Innocent the XI. and Alexander VIII. "William indeed was not their friend, but he was their enemy's enemy as

James had been, and if restored must again be their enemy's vassal. To the heretic nephew, therefore, they gave their effective support, to the orthodox uncle only compliments and benedictions." (Macaulay.) However, this may be, the cruel penal laws, during King William's reign, were so far relaxed as to be almost a nullity.

The Catholics of Scotland hoped to enjoy better times under the reign of the Catholic Monarch, James II. and VII. Buoyed by this hope, they resolved to petition for the appointment of a Bishop to rule their greatly diminished Church. They applied to the King as well as to the See of Rome; and at first it was thought their application met with more favour at London than at Rome. The Prefect, the Abbot of Ratisbon, and a Superior of the Scotch College at Paris, urged their suit at Court. But the negotiations which they undertook in order to induce King James to support their petition at Rome, were opposed and finally rendered fruitless by influences similar to those which had so often been actively at work to thwart the views presented to the Roman Court by the secular priests of Scotland. The project, however, was not abandoned. Their petition was renewed from time to time; and with more confidence than ever, when the English Catholics obtained the appointment of Bishops in 1688. In that year, however, the overthrow

of the Catholic Monarch caused them to be once more disappointed. Meanwhile, the religious orders, who had always opposed the appointment of a bishop, deprived of the support of the Catholic King who favoured them more than their secular brethren, gradually disappeared, after having done much to keep alive the Catholic religion in Scotland. After the first shock experienced on the downfall of King James, a period of comparative tranquillity, as has already been shown, was enjoyed ; and the few Catholics that remained renewed their representations, and at last obtained the appointment of a bishop. In 1694 the choice fell on the Rev. Thomas Nicholson, who was named Bishop of Peristachium, Vicar Apostolic of all Scotland.

This prelate was not always a Catholic. Being born of Protestant parents, Thomas Nicholson, of Kemnay, and Elizabeth Abercrombie, of Birkenbog, in Banffshire, he was brought up according to their ideas. When of age, having studied to good purpose, he was appointed one of the Regents or Professors of the University of Glasgow ; an office which he held for fourteen years. In 1682 he became a Catholic ; and the same year went to study at Padua. He was not long there when he removed to the Scotch College at Douai, in order to complete his theological studies. In the course of three years he was promoted there to the priesthood ;

and in December, 1687, he returned to Scotland in order to fulfil there the duties of a missionary priest. Although possessed of a sufficient patrimony he had preferred being ordained "*sub titulo missionis*." On occasion of the persecution which followed on the downfall of James II. he was seized along with many other priests of Scotland, cast into prison and then banished the kingdom. He was at Edinburgh, however, at the time of the riot above referred to, and was obliged to leave his residence at midnight, making his escape through the midst of the mob, by whom he was not recognized. He was arrested afterwards at Stirling and imprisoned for some months there and at Edinburgh. His brother was admitted as bail for him on condition that he would leave the country and never return. Such was the price of liberty. He settled in France, which was the land of refuge for the greater number of the exiled clergy of Scotland. While in that country, he officiated for three years as chaplain to a community of nuns at Dunkirk. When in 1694, the cardinals of Propaganda resolved that a bishop should be appointed to rule the mission of Scotland, Mr. Nicholson was chosen in August of that year, to fill this high dignity. The Briefs creating him Bishop of Peristachium and Vicar Apostolic of Scotland were promptly expedited, and he was consecrated at Paris, being still under

sentence of exile, in the private chapel of the archiepiscopal palace. Mascaron, the celebrated preacher of the time, was the consecrating bishop; Barillon, Bishop of Lucon, and Ratabon of Ypres were the assistant bishops. For want of the necessary passports he was obliged to delay some time in Holland and Germany on his way to Scotland. On reaching London, in November, 1696, he was apprehended and detained in prison till May, 1697. As soon as he was at liberty, he proceeded on his journey, and passing through Edinburgh in the middle of July, he repaired to Gordon Castle, and there held conference with the neighbouring clergy on the state and prospects of missionary matters. After the first shock of the revolution had come comparative peace, and the worthy bishop was blessed to continue, during twenty years, without any serious molestation, the exercise of his Episcopal functions. The field of his labours being so extensive, he could not remain any length of time in one place. He visited repeatedly almost every part of Scotland, extending his journeys to the remotest Islands, encouraging the clergy and their flocks, administering confirmation in districts where none had enjoyed the benefit of this Sacrament since the extinction of the ancient hierarchy.

CAP. IX.

AN INSURRECTION IN FAVOUR OF THE HOUSE OF STEWART, 1715—BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR--FLIGHT OF JAMES III. AND VIII—ESCAPE OF THE EARL OF NITHSDALE—POPULAR FEELING HOSTILE TO CATHOLICS—IDEA OF TOLERATION ENTERTAINED BY SOME—SECRETARY OF STATE STANHOPE, PROPOSES A MITIGATION OF THE PENAL LAWS—THE MISSION CONSTITUTED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE A LIVING CHURCH—THE STATUTA MISSIONIS ADOPTED—ADMINISTRATORS APPOINTED—IN 1703, SEVENTEEN SECULAR PRIESTS, SEVEN JESUITS, FOUR BENEDICTINES AND FIVE FRANCISCANS—PRESHOME THE BISHOP'S RESIDENCE—500 CATHOLICS IN BRÆMAR WHERE THE CHURCH OWNED NO LAND—A PRIEST DRAGGED FROM THE ALTAR—DEATH OF BISHOP NICHOLSON, 1718.

In the time of Bishop Nicholson there occurred an event which was the occasion of serious annoyance to the Catholics of Scotland. A discontented nobleman of the Court of London, the Earl of Mar, came in 1715 to Scotland, his native country, and raised an insurrection against the reigning family in favour of the heir male of the House of Stewart, the Chevalier St. George, or, as he was styled by his

adherents, James the third and eighth. The adventurous Earl succeeded in collecting a small army consisting of Highlanders and some enthusiastic Jacobites of the Lowlands. There were some ineffectual skirmishers in Scotland. A battle was lost in the north of England ; and finally, at Sheriffmuir in Scotland, the Earl of Mar, at the head of his force, met the army of the existing government commanded by the Duke of Argyle. Neither party succeeded in defeating the other ; but, the result was practically a victory for Argyle, the Jacobites under the leadership of Mar retiring to the City of Perth. They were joined there by the exiled Prince, a circumstance which, far from adding to their strength, tended to destroy any little prestige they may have possessed. The unmilitary appearance of James the third and eighth was but little calculated to raise the courage of the soldiery. He kept aloof from them, never reviewing them or seeing them on parade. He seemed to think that mere ceremony could make a King. He had himself crowned, with all the grandeur imaginable, at Scone, where the ancient Monarchs of Scotland were inaugurated ; and as if this had made him King, he surrounded himself with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty. Assuming command in place of his Lieutenant, the Earl of Mar, he gave orders that the country between Perth and Sheriffmuir should be

laid waste in order to prevent the advance of the enemy. This was a cruel measure which he only believed to be justified by the necessity of the case. To his credit, let it be said, that he afterwards sent a sum of money to the Duke of Argyle to be distributed as compensation to the people whose property he had caused to be destroyed. His hard precaution was of no avail. The enemy bravely made their way over the snow and through the desolated villages. Another battle was not risked. The Jacobite army, that had fought so gallantly at Sheriffmuir, had no heart to renew the fray, and the whole force, on the approach of Argyle's men, melted away like snow beneath the summer sky. The Prince himself was among the first to seek safety in flight. He escaped in disguise, and, in due course, reached the coast of France.

Now came the justice of a strong and stern government. Several noblemen who had been leaders in the rebellion were condemned to death. The rank and file were more mercifully dealt with. In some cases the headsman was disappointed of his prey. The Earl of Nithsdale escaped through the cleverness and daring of his wife. The Countess of Nithsdale had so far gained by liberal presents the good will of the guards of her husband's prison in the Tower of London, that they allowed her access to

him whenever she pleased. It became a lady of such high ranks to be attended by a maid or a relative. This also was permitted. On the day before that on which Lord Nithsdale was to be executed, the countess, accompanied by a tall lady the same height as her husband, visited the prison. The tall lady gave her dress to the prisoner and he was carefully arrayed in it, the countess altering somewhat the colour of his face and concealing his beard. He then assumed the attitude of the lady who had come in, bending down, oppressed with sorrow, shedding tears and holding a handkerchief to her face. In all this the prisoner's imitation was perfect and he passed the guards in safety. To give him time to reach some place of refuge, the countess held a pretended conversation with him in his prison, speaking to him and then imitating his voice in reply. Lord Nithsdale escaped to France, where he was soon joined by the countess, and where they spent the remainder of their days in peace and happiness. A record of this wonderful escape was written by the Countess of Nithsdale herself, and is carefully preserved by the family to this day. The manuscript of the countess has been wrought into a beautiful and interesting narrative by Lady Dacre.

As most of the parties engaged in the ill fated insurrection were either Catholics or non juring

Episcopalians, the former who had, for some time, been gaining in popular favour, incurred a new measure of odium. It does not appear that any extreme persecution was carried on against them. But there was a persecution of popular feeling which rendered it more difficult for the clergy to exercise the duties of their office. There were those, nevertheless, who considered that the penal laws ought to be mitigated and Catholics placed more on an equality with their fellow-citizens. This happy idea, indicative of a more enlightened time, found its way into the cabinet of King George and the British Parliament. Secretary of State Stanhope, in proposing a measure of toleration to the House of Commons, "desired to repeal not only the act against occasional conformity, the schism act and the test act, but also to mitigate the penal laws against Roman Catholics." (Knight, *Hist. of Eng.*) This was too much for the time ; but it says something for the improving spirit of the age, that, although this clause was rejected, it was not without powerful support in Parliament. The very idea of placing Catholics on a juster footing of equality with the rest of the people, would not, for a moment, have been entertained by the Parliament of King William which enacted the cruel penal laws in opposition to the strongly expressed will of their Sovereign.

To return to Bishop Nicholson. It had been regulated in the time of the second and last Prefect

that each priest for the more effectual discharge of his duties, should limit himself to a certain district. This regulation was imperfectly complied with, there not being sufficient authority to enforce it. It was now renewed, and having the sanction of the bishop, came into full operation. It gave a new character to the mission in vesting it with the form of a living church, each priest having what might be called his parish, and he himself being a *quasi* parish priest. None could act in his district without his permission, and none but such as were approved by the bishop could obtain that permission.

The bishop also prepared a body of regulations for the disciplinary guidance of the clergy, which were called *statuta missionis*. They were unanimously adopted at a general meeting of the clergy, held in 1700, and continued in force till they were extended by Bishop Hay. The same meeting resolved on another beneficial measure which greatly facilitated the management of the mission, Seven of the most experienced priests were appointed *Administrators* in order to attend to the interests of the clergy generally, to represent them and act for them, whilst they should also give the bishop the benefit of their advice, and, subject to his supervision, manage the temporal affairs of the mission. Their number was afterwards, in the time of Bishop Nicholson's successor, 1719, increased to nine.

A very full and interesting report of the state of the mission, presented to the congregation of Propaganda in 1703, shews that, at that time, there were seventeen secular priests, two of whom were Irishmen, in Scotland. There were also seven Jesuits, four Benedictines and five Irish Franciscans, in all thirty-three missionary Priests. It may appear extraordinary, but, it is, nevertheless, related as a fact, that the seven Jesuits were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop Vicar Apostolic. The Benedictines and Franciscans were so subject.

The Bishop's residence was at Preshome in the Enzie, county of Banff. He could not, however, very often be there, as he was almost always engaged in episcopal visitations. It was also the home of the Procurator of the mission and the principal missionary station. There, the clergy, for the most part, held their meetings. There was no place where they could be more free from molestation, the influence of the Gordons being predominant in that part of the country. This influence also moderated the rulers of the land, who, besides, were beginning to act on more liberal principles. There still remained some twelve Catholic barons who afforded powerful protection to their brethren in religion, especially on their own estates.

In 1706, the absence from the country of the Earl of Mar, who had a great antipathy to the Catholic

religion, gave the bishop an opportunity of visiting Bræmar. It would have been dangerous, if at all possible at any other time. He found there as many as five hundred Catholics. When so many fell away all around them, how happened it, we may inquire, that they remained steadfast in the faith? They themselves ascribed this blessing to the fact that the Church possessed no lands among them, and hence none were tempted to apostatize for the sake of gain. No doubt this was one of the chief causes. But, they owed much to their parish priest of the time, who was a very pious man, courageous as well as pious, and much loved by his flock. Instead of retiring in the evil days, yielding to the storm of persecution that raged so violently, he remained with his people, encouraging them by his presence and example, and exhorting them to persevere in their religion. It was not to be supposed that so zealous a priest should always escape the attentions of the ever-persistent enemy. Nor was it so. He was dragged from the altar one day by a band of fanatics. But even this sacrilegious outrage did not shake his fortitude. The moment of danger over, he fearlessly returned to the exercise of his sacred calling.

Bishop Nicholson died on the 23rd of October, N. S., 1718, at Preshome, where he usually resided when not engaged in visiting the missions. He was

buried on the site of the ancient altar, in the chapel of St. Ninian's there, of which there now remains only one corner stone. Bishop Gordon, his successor, composed an epitaph which is still to be seen on the flat slab which covers the grave of the deceased bishop. It is Latin and is of considerable length. It ends with these words, having passed a high eulogium on the departed Prelate.

. VIXIT
 ANNOS CIRCITER 76. OBIIT
 QUARTO IDUS OCTOBRI
 ANNO REPARATAE SALUTIS
 1718.

CAP. X.

BIRTH OF RT. REV. PATRICK GORDON—COADJUTOR TO BISHOP NICHOLSON—3,000 CATHOLICS CONFIRMED IN THE HIGHLANDS IN 1700—DIFFICULTY OF TRAVELLING IN THE HIGHLANDS—VICAR-GENERAL FOR THE HIGHLANDS—FIRST ORDINATION OF A PRIEST IN SCOTLAND SINCE THE “REFORMATION”—2,242 PERSONS CONFIRMED—VISITATION IN LOWLANDS—FREQUENT PROSECUTIONS THERE—POPULAR DREAD OF CATHOLICS—DIVISION OF MISSION INTO LOWLAND AND HIGHLAND DISTRICTS—SCALAN FOUNDED—MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE OF THE PROPOSED VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE HIGHLANDS—DEATH OF THE LAST CATHOLIC DUKE OF GORDON—A PLOT AGAINST THE BISHOP—BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD—DEATH OF BISHOP GORDON, 1746.

James Gordon, son of Patrick Gordon of Glas-tirum, and a cadet of the Latterfourie Family, was born, 1664, in the district of the Enzie, County of Banff. In 1680 he went to commence and complete his ecclesiastical studies at the Scotch Collège of Paris. In due course he was ordained priest and returned to Scotland in 1692. He laboured in his native district till 1702. He was then sent to Rome

as assistant to Mr. William Leslie, who was still agent of the Scotch mission in its relations with the Holy See. While there he was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Nicholson, and consecrated by Cardinal Barbarigo, Bishop of Nicopolis, at Montefiascone, on Low Sunday, the 11th April, 1706. He came to Scotland the same year, and succeeded Bishop Nicholson in 1718 as Vicar Apostolic.

In passing through France, he repaired to St. Germain and paid his respects to the exiled King and Royal Family. He then travelled by way of Holland, and arrived at Aberdeen by the end of July. He found Bishop Nicholson in a state of great affliction, some priests having become incapacitated by age, and, what was worse, others having fallen and given scandal. In such sorrowful circumstances he stood in need of consolation ; and the arrival of his coadjutor was a source of joy to him.

In 1707, a general meeting of the clergy had been held, and new divisions, or districts, assigned to both the secular and regular priests. Of the former there were, at the time, fifteen, and of the latter twenty-one, viz : eleven Jesuits, four Benedictines, one Augustinian and five Franciscans. These figures show that there was an increase in the number of the clergy since the accession of Bishop Nicholson. Bishop Nicholson had made a visitation of the Highlands in

1700 and confirmed 3,000 Catholics. He had found it impossible to undertake another visitation ; and Bishop Gordon now resolved to visit the Highlands for the first time. He was not, however, able to set out so early in the season as he desired, having to attend to a congregation that was, at the time, without a priest. He was thus engaged throughout Lent and till after Easter. He then fell ill in consequence of over-exertion. He was able, at length, by the beginning of June, to commence his journey. He was accompanied by a youthful deacon who could not speak Gaelic. The party travelled through Badenoch, and, in five days, reached Glengarry. There they had the last meal of bread and meat that they were to enjoy for several weeks to come. Pretty comfortable beds could be made of such materials as were at hand—heather, grass or straw. But the huts, in which they were spread, freely admitted the rain in wet weather. The Bishop might have provided for travelling more comfortably. But he was passing through a country where some of the better sort of people sought no better way of living, and he wished to avoid all appearance of luxury. Two of the senior priests of the Highlands who were to accompany him on his visitation, met him at Glengarry. As there was a garrison of soldiers there, he was advised to proceed to the remoter parts of the

country before commencing his episcopal duties. Guided by this counsel, he sent back his horses and continued his journey on foot. This he did, partly to avoid notice, and partly to set an example of endurance to those who accompanied him. At Glenquoich the difficulty of advancing was still greater. Some of the rough mountain tracks were such that the travellers were obliged to scramble over them on all fours. There were frequent precipices which made their advance dangerous as well as difficult; and the swamps, which they had to traverse, rendered it impossible for them to keep their feet dry. The Bishop, however, kept up the spirits of the party by the buoyancy of his own. At the head of one of the Lochs they were met by Glogarry's brother, who conveyed them in a boat to his house, some miles distant. Here they rested for a couple of days, and on the 20th repaired to the Laird of Knoydart's House. The proper work of the visitation was now begun. On the Sunday following the day of the Bishop's arrival, the people were called together and confirmation administered. Next day the party reached an island in Loch Morar, and, on the Tuesday, proceeded, partly by this loch, and partly by land, to Arisaig, and the same day embarked in the Laird of Moydart's boat, in order to be conveyed to the Island

of Uist. A contrary wind obliged them to land at Eigg, where the people were catechised and otherwise prepared for confirmation. These duties occupied two days. One of the priests preached in Gaelic; and after Mass the Bishop delivered a short sermon which a priest translated into Gaelic. Such was the usual order of proceeding on occasion of confirmation being administered. Only once, or twice, was this order departed from, when preaching was omitted in order to shorten the service and avoid being surprised by the soldiers. On occasion of these services, the Bishop generally conversed with the leading people of the different localities in order to be informed of the state of their congregations.

The party now, June 26th, passed over to Rum, and the following day landed at Uist. In this large island they were hospitably entertained at the house of the laird. On the 29th confirmation was administered according to the usual order; and on the 30th the Bishop and his friends sailed for Barra. The four first days of July were spent there and in the small island of Watersay, the priest of which received from the Bishop a copy of the *statuta missionis*. The Bishop returned to Uist, visiting also Benbecula. When in Uist he appointed a vicar-general in order to exercise the duties of inspection over all the islands. On sailing

from Canna, after having given instruction and confirmation there, he was in danger of being shipwrecked. His boat was on the point of being lost in a gale, when one of the priests, who understood something of seamanship, brought the party safe next morning to the Island of Eigg. Confirmation was then held at Arisaig.

It may be mentioned, as illustrating the intolerance which still prevailed, that the Bishop could not go to Moydart, soldiers being stationed there; but was obliged to invite the people of that country to come to him for instruction and confirmation at Ardness. He then repaired to Borodale, and thence over "the rough bounds," to Knoydart. At Scothouse in that district, he conferred the order of priesthood on the deacon, who had accompanied him from Preshome and appointed him a missionary for the Highlands. This was the first ordination of a priest in Scotland since the "Reformation." Returning south, the Bishop staid three days in Strathglass, instructing and administering confirmation. He did the same in Glengarry, but, very privately, as there was a garrison there. Fatigue and insufficient food now caused a fever, which did not, however, oblige the Bishop to discontinue his travels. He made his visitation of Lochaber, and then proceeding to Badenoch, took leave of the two priests who had

accompanied him. An attack of dysentery did not prevent him from pursuing his journey, and passing down Strathspey, he reached his brother's house at Balnacraig on Aug. 21st.

During the visitation 2,242 persons had been confirmed; and no molestation was experienced. This immunity from all trouble must, no doubt, be ascribed to the great prudence with which the mission was conducted. The Bishop often renewed his visitation of the Highlands. He spent a whole winter there, 1710-1711, and was heard to say that he enjoyed better health there than in the Lowlands. His object in staying so long was to learn the habits of the people, and acquire a sufficient knowledge of their language so as to be better able to impart instruction on occasion of his visitations.

A great increase of labour fell to the share of the coadjutor, as the health of Bishop Nicholson began to fail. The year after his visitation of the Highlands, to which reference has been made, he visited every part of the Lowlands, a task all the more difficult as the Catholics there were fewer in number and more widely scattered than in the Highlands. They were also more exposed to annoying prosecutions, being nearer the courts of law, and surrounded by neighbours who looked upon them as rebels and idolators. Bishop Gordon gave them great comfort

and encouragement on occasion of administering confirmation. Notwithstanding the engrossing nature of his episcopal duties, he was able to maintain a vigorous correspondence with the Cardinals of Propaganda. It has been truly remarked that his letters are characterized by "singular elegance of language, strength, justness and animation of sentiment."

In addition to the inveterate prejudice against their religion, the Catholics were subject to suspicion on account of so many of their number having borne an active part in the cause of the exiled Royal Family. There thus hung over them a two-fold mistrust. They were avoided as enemies of the "true religion," and dreaded as partisans who might rise in arms against the established order of things. It is, indeed, under the circumstances, matter for surprise that the persecution was not more active than it was. The patience and fortitude of the Catholics in those days of gloom and despondency were powerfully sustained by the presence among them of bishops and priests of their Church.

In the year 1712 it was resolved to establish in a remote and comparatively inaccessible part of the country a seminary for the education of Scotch ecclesiastics. A place called Scalan, on the estate of the Duke of Gordon, in a mountainous region, known as "the Cabrach," was selected as the seat

of this institution, which was destined, although very humble in its beginnings, to receive, at no distant date, very wonderful developments. In its remote abode, even, it did good service, and that for not less than a century.

As has already been shown, the Jacobite affair of 1715 brought a new storm of troubles on the Catholics of Scotland, as well as those of England. But, it was a less merciless age, and would not tolerate such atrocious acts of cruelty as had disgraced preceding periods of our history.

For some years Bishop Gordon entertained the opinion that it was expedient to divide the Vicariate of Scotland, so as that the Highland regions and the Lowland should each have a Bishop Vicar Apostolic. The clergy generally now came to share his views, and the time was come, he conceived, when Propaganda should be addressed on the subject. He made the necessary proposal accordingly, and, at the same time, recommended the Rev. Alexander Grant, the President of the seminary at Scalán, as the most suitable person to be appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Highlands. Everything connected with this important matter was proceeding smoothly, when Mr. Grant repaired in person to Rome and was approved, nominated and promised his Bulls of consecration by the time of his return to Scotland.

Meanwhile, however, Mr. Grant fell ill, when on his way home, at Genoa. His ailment was partly ague, partly despondency of mind. His supply of money having failed, he wrote to Paris for more, but the letter in reply, containing the necessary remittance, never reached him. This unfortunate circumstance preyed on his mind; and his imagination becoming diseased, he believed that his friends had deserted him, and that he was wholly unfit for the great responsibilities of the Episcopal office. The Bulls for his consecration reached Scotland. But in vain; Mr. Grant never arrived there. He was never heard of more, although letters concerning him were frequently despatched to Rome and others written from Rome. It is conjectured that he may have retired into a monastery, but with greater probability, that he died, when unable to make himself known, in some public hospital.

In 1728 the last of the Dukes of Gordon, who was a Catholic, died prematurely. This was a severe blow to the numerous Catholics on his estates. His widow, the Duchess, although a Protestant, showed herself friendly to the clergy who laboured among her tenants. The great protector being no more, a plot was contrived for the destruction of the Bishop. He was accused of a design to carry off the youthful heir of the house of Gordon to

the continent, in order to have him educated in the Catholic religion. This plot prevailed so far as to cause the Bishop to be arrested and committed to prison. The Duchess knew perfectly well that there was no ground for suspecting the Bishop of such a purpose; and she was, accordingly, the most active among all concerned in obtaining his liberation. It would have been strange, indeed, if so prudent a prelate had entertained a scheme that would have renewed the persecution of Catholics and nullified the labours of half a century.

On occasion of the appointment of a Bishop Vicar-Apostolic for the Highlands, Bishop Gordon addressed a letter which has been preserved, "to all the churchmen and honourable Catholic gentlemen in the Highlands of Scotland." This letter is dated Edinburgh, October 29, 1741:

"The universal Pastor of the Catholic Church, considering maturely that my advanced years cannot allow me to serve you henceforth, as I have done for many years. and that it will prove much for your advantage, and that of all the Highland counties of Scotland to have a Bishop constantly to reside among you, has, in his great wisdom and tender love for you all, with the consent and at the desire of our Sovereign (meaning James VIII), ordered the most worthy bearer, the most Rev. Hugh MacDonald, to

be consecrated Bishop to serve among you as your chief pastor and Bishop. And His Holiness sending him, as Bishop, among you, appointed him also Vicar-Apostolic, with singular powers, to enable him to discharge this office with the greatest honour and authority, etc,

IA. EP. NICOP., Vic. Ap. in
Planis Scotiæ."

Bishop Gordon's jurisdiction was now, 1731, limited to the Lowlands, the Scotch Vicariate being divided, and Bishop Hugh MacDonald appointed first Vicar-Apostolic of the Highlands. This important change was effected by the Holy See through the solicitation and influence of Bishop Gordon. This venerable Prelate continued to preside over the Vicariate of the Lowlands till his death, which occurred the 1st of March, 1746, at Thornhill, near Drummond Castle, in the house of Mrs. Mary Drummond, a Catholic lady. He was buried at Innerpeffery, the burial place of the Dukes of Perth. His remains were not yet removed from Thornhill when a party of soldiers came to take possession of Drummond Castle.

CAP. XI.

BIRTH OF BISHOP WALLACE—SUMMONED BEFORE THE JUSTICIARY COURT OF PERTH—OUTLAWED—BISHOP WALLACE BY SPECIAL INDULT CONSECRATED BY BISHOP GORDON ALONE—A SECOND TIME OUTLAWED—REMAINS IN THE COUNTRY—BISHOP GORDON'S AFFECTION FOR THE HIGHLANDERS—DEATH OF BISHOP WALLACE, 1733.

Mr. Wallace was the son of the Provost of Arbroath, and is supposed to have been born about 1650. He was educated as a Protestant and licensed as an Episcopalian minister. It is probable that he became a Catholic some time before the Revolution. But the precise time is not known. He was tutor for some time to the Duke of Perth's children and travelled with them through France and Italy. When these duties were at an end he repaired to the Scotch College of Paris and lived there retired for a considerable time. When Bishop Gordon returned from Rome in 1706, he prevailed on Mr. Wallace to accompany him to Scotland and prepare for the labours of the mission. He was ordained priest in April, 1708, and stationed at Arbroath. In the following year he was summoned before the Justiciary

Court of Perth for "apostatizing to the Popish religion" and for "trafficking and perverting others." He declined to appear and was outlawed.

In 1719, Bishop Gordon solicited from the Holy See and obtained the appointment of Mr. Wallace as his coadjutor. On 30th April, 1720, the Briefs were expedited by which he was created Bishop of Cyrrah. In the following October, he was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Gordon alone, assisted by two priests. This departure from the usual form of consecration was sanctioned by a special indult. It is also to be remarked that the elected bishop was of greater age than Bishop Gordon, having attained his sixty-sixth year. It was on account of his great merit that he was chosen, and also in order to put an end to the intrigues that were begun in favour of some other party. His new dignity was far from being a bed of roses. In 1722 he was arrested by order of the magistrates, whilst he was hearing confessions in the lodgings of the Duchess of Gordon at Edinburgh. The duchess was still in bed. But the constables of the City Guard who had charge to execute the warrant, insisted that she should rise and conduct them over the house. Eleven other Catholics were seized, and of these some were dismissed, others sent to prison. Suspecting the Bishop, from the gravity of his demeanor, to be a priest, they conducted him

to prison under a strong guard. It would have fared still worse with him if they had imagined that he was anything more. He was liberated on bail ; but, as on a former occasion, refused, to stand his trial, and was outlawed. He remained in the country, however, and frequenting only places where he was not much known, he managed to do good service. It would appear that later on he could use more freedom ; for, Bishop Gordon left to him the principal charge of the Lowlands, whilst he himself devoted his energies to the people of the Highlands, for whom he had conceived so great an affection.

The Bishop's friendship for his Highlanders was strongly expressed in a letter he wrote to the agent at Rome in the year 1711. It would appear that some people expressed surprise that he should have been able to stay in those mountainous districts with an amount of comfort which it was impossible for others to experience. "I never," was his reply, "had more comfort, every way, then among those people ; and am so far from wearying of them that I long to shut myself up forever with them. I do not question but I should do greater service there than anywhere else ; and if it were the will of Propaganda, I would confine myself so long as I live, among our hills and consecrate my days to serve the poor people that live in them." It was less difficult

for Bishop Gordon to live in the Highlands, as his coadjutor, Bishop Wallace, had for some time been charged with the weight of duty in the Lowlands mission. The latter Prelate continued to be engaged in these labours till the close of his days. He died at Edinburgh on the 11th July, 1733.

CAP. XII.

BIRTH OF BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD—BISHOP, 1731—
HOSTILE FEELING GREATLY DIMINISHED—CHANGE
FOR THE WORSE CAUSED BY THE ILL-TIMED EX-
PEDITION OF PRINCE CHARLES—THE BISHOP RE-
MONSTRATES AGAINST IT—NEVERTHELESS BLESSES
THE PRINCE'S STANDARD.

The Bishop whom we are now to notice was a son of Macdonald of Morar, and a lineal descendant of the ancient Lords of the Isles. It appears that he was sent at a very early age to study at the Seminary of Scaln. There also he completed his ecclesiastical studies and was ordained priest by Bishop Gordon in 1725. As has been shown, this Prelate had provided, through his influence with the See of Rome, for the appointment of a Bishop, Vicar-Apostolic, for the Highland district, now ecclesiastically separated from the Lowlands, and had obtained the nomination to this dignity of the Reverend Hugh Macdonald. By Briefs, accordingly, dated 12th February, 1731, Mr. Macdonald was created Bishop of Diana and Vicar-Apostolic of the Highland district of Scotland. In October of the same year, he was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Gordon,

who was assisted on the occasion by Bishop Wallace and one priest, the Holy See sanctioning some departure from the usual practice in consideration of the difficulties of the time and the necessities of the Scotch mission. One of the first acts of the new Bishop was, in concurrence with the other two Bishops, to define the limits of the two districts. A line of demarkation was accordingly drawn and submitted to the Congregation of Propaganda, which ratified by a solemn decree of 7th January, 1732, the decision of the Bishops.

Time had now considerably mitigated the hostile feeling against Catholics which had been so strongly excited by the abortive attempt of James III. and VIII. to recover the throne of his ancestors; and Bishop MacDonald continued zealously to exercise the duties of his episcopal office for the period of fourteen years, with comparatively little difficulty.

In 1745 a very untoward event came to disturb anew the relations of Catholics with the rest of the people, which had been growing easier from year to year. The heir male of the House of Stewart, Prince Charles Edward, a youth of five and twenty years, came to the west coast of Scotland in a French ship, disguised as a French abbe, and accompanied by seven of his leading adherents, but without a single soldier. He was strongly advised by chiefs

and gentlemen of the country to return to France and wait for a more favourable opportunity. Bishop MacDonald, who was a decided Jacobite, went to visit him on board his ship, and insisted on the same advice. The wise remonstrances of so many competent advisers were lost upon the daring Prince. He persisted in his determination, and what shows that he would have been a very unfit Regent, he treated with neglect the worthy Bishop who had so honestly advised him. This, however, did not cause the prelate to abandon his cause, nor even to refrain from taking an active part in forwarding it; for, when his standard was raised at Glenfinnan, it was blessed by Bishop MacDonald.

CAP. XIII.

EXPEDITION OF PRINCE CHARLES—ITS DISASTROUS RESULTS TO THE CATHOLICS—MERCIFULNESS OF THE SOLDIERS OF PRINCE CHARLES, ALMOST ALL CATHOLICS, CONTRASTED WITH THE UNSPEAKABLE CRUELTY OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND'S TROOPS—SAVAGE EXECUTIONS BY THE HANOVERIAN AUTHORITIES—PRINCE CHARLES CONCEALED FOR FIVE MONTHS AMONG THE HIGHLANDERS—WONDERFUL ESCAPE OF THE BISHOP AND HIS BROTHER OF MORAR—EXECUTION OF LORD LOVAT—VISIT OF BOISDALE TO PRINCE CHARLES—BETTER DISPOSITION OF THE MINISTERS OF THE KIRK WHO REFUSE TO OBEY THE CRUEL ORDERS OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND--DEATH OF BISHOP HUGH MC'DONALD, 1773.

Some account of the Jacobite rising of 1745 will not be out of place here, as it involves the history and the fate of the Catholics of the Highlands, and, indeed, of all Scotland. Contrary to the sound advice of Bishop Macdonald and other gentlemen of repute, all friendly to his cause, Prince Charles Edward landed from the French ship in which he had come, disguised as an abbe, and accompanied by

seven of his leading adherents. He immediately raised his standard at Glenfinnan, and in an incredibly short time was surrounded by a body of devoted followers. With this force, small enough for the conquest of an empire, he proceeded to the Lowlands, capturing towns and laying the country under contribution far and wide. It was not long till he reached Edinburgh, the Capital, and as he had numerous friends there, it became an easy conquest. He was keeping his court in this city, at the palace of his ancestors, and preparing for further and still more daring operations, when Sir John Cope, the commander of the Government forces in Scotland, advanced in order to check his progress. The armies met at Prestonpans, near Edinburgh. The result was a brilliant victory for Prince Charles, which gave eclat and prestige to his cause. Encouraged by this success, the Prince resolved to invade England. He succeeded in taking the important City of Carlisle, and thence proceeded without any serious interruption as far as Derby, within 127 miles of the British metropolis. He had evaded an army commanded by King George II.'s second son, the Duke of Cumberland. This army was two days' march behind that of Prince Charles, and never could have overtaken the active Highlanders. A council was held and the chiefs decided on return-

ing to Scotland. To this the Prince most reluctantly consented, for he considered, and rightly, that to retrace his steps was to give up the cause. So judged also the numerous friends who were hastening from Wales to join his standard. A strong force of French, under the command of the Chevalier's Brother, Henry, which was preparing for a descent on the south coast of England, was also discouraged from undertaking anything. When it was known in London that the insurgent army was so near the capital, there prevailed the greatest consternation among the anti-Jacobite population of that city. Many merchants and others who were hostile to the House of Stewart, removed their most valuable effects, as did also King George, who had his yachts in readiness and was prepared to embark on the approach of the hostile power. A leading member of the cabinet, the Duke of Newcastle, shut himself up a whole day, resolving to proclaim King James III. and VIII. All this very plainly shows that the anti-Jacobite portion of the city possessed no adequate means of defence. The Bank of England itself was in danger, and was only saved from a declaration of bankruptcy by the stratagems of its friends. Under the circumstances, it is scarcely possible to conceive the infatuation of the insurgent chiefs, who preferred slow but sure destruction to a fair chance of final

success. The Prince alone appeared to realize the situation. He was so depressed that he could hardly be dragged along at the rear of his brave army. His only chance would have been to appeal to the force at large, who were as deeply mortified as the Prince himself when they found that they were in retreat. Every advantage that had been gained was lost. There remained only the indomitable bravery of the Prince's little army. At Falkirk, in Scotland, they encountered a superior force under the command of General Hawley. They fought with their accustomed valour and won a signal victory. At Inverness they were not so fortunate. The Duke of Cumberland met them there at the head of a superior army, which was well provided with artillery and otherwise well appointed. The Highlanders, on the contrary, were worn out by hunger and fatigue. Under such circumstances it was in vain to attempt a night surprise of the enemy. The march over difficult ground in a pitch-dark night could not be accomplished in time. But the fatigue of such a desperate journey remained, and was a source of weakness in the ensuing battle. Now was the time, one would say, for retreating into the mountain fastnesses, which were so near at hand, and where the Highlanders could have renewed their strength and recruited their army. How much wiser would not this have been

than to meet, on Culloden Moor, ground unsuited to the Highlanders' mode of warfare, an army twice their number? Desiring that the English army should be the first to attack, they gave the enemy too good an opportunity of thinning their ranks by the deadly play of their artillery. They charged, at last, without waiting for command, and with their usual bravery and skill, although without their wonted success. It was not a time for denying time honoured rights and privileges. It had been the privilege of the powerful Clan McDonald, ever since the days of King Robert Bruce, to fight on the right wing of the army of Scotland. On the fatal day of Culloden they were placed on the left. They were unable to overcome the mortification caused by what they considered their disgrace, and when the battle was against their cause, they were too dispirited to make any effort in order to retrieve the day. What remained of Prince Charles' army retired in good order to the Highlands. The Prince himself was with difficulty led off the field.

The ill-advised expedition of Prince Charles Edward was attended with the most disastrous results to the Catholics, especially those of the Highlands. Such of their chiefs as were not killed in battle, or barbarously murdered, when wounded on the field of Culloden, suffered severely in their property, while

not a few perished by the hand of the executioner. Their castles and mansions were given to the flames, and they were obliged to wander from one place of concealment to another in their native land. The common people had no better fate. The fields from which they derived their subsistence were laid waste, their cottages destroyed, and they themselves reduced to poverty and in many cases to actual starvation. Under such circumstances the offices of religion could not be publicly performed, nor could the clergy fulfil in private the duties of their sacred calling. Their flocks, deprived of instruction, fell away in part, and before the end of the unhappy time became greatly diminished. The Right Reverend Bishop MacDonald fared no better than his more humble brethren. He persevered in the fulfilment of his duties until he was seized, and, what is not a little remarkable, tried not as having favoured the insurrection, but as a "Popish Priest," and sentenced to banishment; but not actually banished. He withdrew to a retired place called Shenval, near the Seminary of Scalán, in the mountainous region of the Cabrach; and from thence, as often as possible, especially in summer, visited his afflicted flock.

The army of Prince Charles Edward consisted almost entirely of Catholics, with some non juring conservatives of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

It is highly to the credit of these men that in the days of success they never practiced any cruelty against their fallen enemies. After their brilliant victories at Preston-pans and Falkirk they gathered up the wounded of Cope's and Hawley's armies and kindly tended them as if they had been members of their own force. This generous humanity was but ill repaid by the opposite party when they at length won a victory. Many brave Highlanders lay wounded and helpless on the bloody field of Culloden. The Hanoverian General, William, Duke of Cumberland, George II's son, ordered that all the wounded should be put to death, and they were despatched accordingly, the general overseeing the cruel massacre. Such of them as had found refuge in private dwellings were ruthlessly torn from those asylums where they were tenderly cared for, and barbarously murdered in the open fields. The house of that most benevolent gentleman and zealous supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty, Lord President Forbes, was not respected. Quite a number of wounded men were humanely received there and kindly treated. The hospitable mansion was savagely violated, the wounded soldiers dragged from under its protecting roof and shot down in groups. What a contrast does not such cruelty present with the unvarying humanity of the insurgent army !

The officers of Prince Charles' army who escaped being slain at Culloden, became, like himself, wanderers through the country, at every moment in danger of being taken. Many of them indeed were caught, and of these a considerable number were delivered to the executioner and murdered with all the circumstances of barbarian cruelty. With the exception of men of high title, who enjoyed the honour to have their heads hacked off, all other offenders, and they were numerous, who fell into the hands of the enemy, including chiefs and gentlemen of the highest rank, were subjected to the like treatment. Three minutes on the rope, and then, whilst still in life, the horrid butchery of disembowelling and beheading. (R. Chalmers.)

The inexpressible infamy with which these shocking butcheries disgraced the Hanover dynasty no time can ever efface, nor excellence of virtue ever atone for their blood guiltiness and that of their cowardly agents.

Prince Charles, after five months of privation, misery and concealment in the Islands and on the mainland of Scotland, at length got on board a French ship and was safely conveyed to France. It says much for his adherents of all classes, of whom the Catholics were the most numerous, who were with him in his ill-starred expedition, or only favouring him in private, that, although in the course of his wander-

ings, he was often in their power, as many as over a hundred being aware at times of the place of his concealment, and that there was a reward of £30.000 (thirty thousand pounds sterling) offered for his capture, not one of them ever thought of betraying him into the hands of his enemies.

Bishop MacDonald, who, as we have seen, was finally arrested as a priest, one day at the time when the pursuit of insurgents was the hottest, together with his brother, the Laird of Morar, and Lord Lovat, sought refuge in an island, which is in Loch Morar, and trusted to being secure, having drawn all the boats that were in the locality to the Island. This was of no avail. The soldiers in pursuit brought a boat from the neighbouring sea, and speedily reached the Island. Meanwhile the fugitives made for the mainland in one of their boats, when the two brothers, by their greater agility, effected their escape, whilst the aged Lovat fell into the hands of the pursuers and was conveyed to London in order to be another victim to the vengeance of the cowardly enemy. He had been reconciled to the Catholic Church by Bishop MacDonald when they were together in the Island of Loch Morar. On the scaffold he openly professed his faith, and spent some time before the axe fell, in acts of devotion.

The Bishop was more fortunate. He managed to avoid being captured by the soldiery till autumn of the same year, after leaving Loch Morar, when he found an opportunity of passing on board, one of the French ships which had come in search of the prince. On arriving in France he went to stay at the Scotch College of Paris, and would have gone to Rome, but, at the desire of Propaganda, remained in France in order to be nearer his people, and possibly able to give them some assistance; with a view also to be more ready to return home when it should become practicable. The French Court generously bestowed on him a pension of several hundred crowns. He returned home in August, 1749, and managed to exercise without any serious hindrance, the duties of his high office, until, as has already been stated, he was shamefully betrayed and arrested at Edinburgh in July, 1755, and tried as a "Popish Priest." Although the sentence of banishment which ensued was not put in force, the Bishop found it necessary to live very retired outside the limits of his Vicariate, sometimes at Shenval and sometimes with a friend at Auchintoul, when he was not engaged in ministering to his flock in the Highlands. He died at an advanced age, when on a visitation to his afflicted people in Glengarry, on the 12th of March, 1773.

In two years from the date of Culloden, an

amnesty was resolved on. Then appeared the true animus of the Hanover party. There could be no longer prosecutions for treason. To make amends the penal laws must be put in force, and hence it was that Bishop MacDonald was arrested as a "Popish Priest," and sentenced to perpetual exile. There can be no doubt as to the ill-feeling against Catholics which prevailed throughout the country. The peoples' fear of absolute monarchy was associated, groundlessly, indeed, but certainly, with an equally great fear of the Catholic religion. Of this state of feeling there are many proofs which it would be superfluous here to recount. There is one, however, of such an interesting character that we should regret to omit recording it. Mr. MacDonald, of Boisdale, who was friendly to Prince Charles, and gave him the wise advice to refrain from his expedition, together with Mr. Hugh MacDonald, of Balshair, who was also friendly, but who, like Boisdale, had not taken part in the ill-fated expedition, visited the Prince at a place called Colliedale, in the Island of South Uist. One evening a rather free conversation took place between the Prince and his kindly friends. "At last," says Boisdale, "I starts the question if His Highness would take it amiss if I should tell him the greatest objections against him in Great Britain. He said not. I told that 'Popery and arbitrary

government were the two chiefest.' He said "It was only bad constructions his enemies put on it.'" Boisdale then told him "that his predecessor, Donald Clan Ronald, had fought seven set battles for his; yet after the restoration, he was not owned by King Charles at Court." The Prince said: "Boisdale, don't be rubbing up old sores, for if I came home the case would be otherwise with me." I then says to him, "that notwithstanding of what freedom we enjoyed there with him, we could have no access to him if he was settled at London." And he told us then, "if he had never so much ado, he'd be one night merry with his Highland friends.' "

The Duke of Cumberland, in addition to his other hostile contrivances, endeavored to excite against the Catholic Jacobites their old enemies, the ministers of the Kirk. He required of the General Assembly to command all the established clergymen throughout the country to read a proclamation from their pulpits, in which the Duke ordered every minister and every loyal subject to exert themselves in discovering and seizing the rebels. The General Assembly complied. But, many individual clergymen, and this shows what a change had come over their minds, refused to read the proclamation, or left it to be read by their precen-tors. In consequence of this, the Duke sent another order to the Kirk, commanding every minister to

give in a list of the rebels belonging to his parish. With this still fewer complied, the clergymen of Edinburgh setting an example of recusancy. The Duke then had recourse to individual applications and even personal entreaties. But to no purpose ; and so he gave up troubling them.

CAP. XIV.

PEACEFUL DISTRICTS SUBJECTED TO MILITARY LAW—

THE LORD PRESIDENT FORBES REMONSTRATES—
NO CONDEMNATION BY GEORGE II. OF HIS SON'S
BARBARITY—THE CARDINAL DUKE OF YORK
DEPRIVED OF HIS INCOME—HIS GENEROSITY TO THE
POPE—OBLIGED TO FLY FOR HIS LIFE—GEORGE III.
BESTOWS £4,000 YEARLY FOR THE CARDINAL'S
SUPPORT—THE CARDINAL BEQUEATHS TO THE
PRINCE OF WALES THE ORDER OF THE GARTER
WHICH HAD BELONGED TO HIS GREAT-GRAND-
FATHER, CHARLES I., TOGETHER WITH A RING
ANCIENTLY WORN BY THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND AT
THEIR CORONATION—MONUMENT BY PRINCE OF
WALES TO THE CHEVALIER ST. GEORGE AND HIS
TWO SONS, PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD AND HENRY,
CARDINAL YORK.

The Hanoverian Party were not satisfied with laying waste the lands of the active insurgents ; they extended their ravages throughout peaceful districts even to the gates of the capital ; so that Scotland might be said to have been treated, all over its length and breadth, as a conquered country, and subjected to military law.

The Lord President Forbes, who could not be suspected of any want of friendship to the Hanover cause, felt compelled to remonstrate against the outrageous measures of the Duke of Cumberland and the extravagant way in which he carried them out in defiance of all law at the very doors of the Courts of Justice. The worthy gentleman was only treated to the coarse and scornful reply : “ The laws, my Lord ! By G—I’ll make a brigade give laws.” He afterwards alluded to the President as *that old woman who talked to him about humanity*. No form of trial was allowed to the insurgents ; nor did the soldiers ask for warrants from the justices when they set about plundering houses. This was indeed *brigade law*.

It does not appear to be on record anywhere that George II. ever remonstrated against the barbarous conduct of his hopeful son or that he used paternal authority in order to mitigate his cruelty.

In speaking of the Catholics of Scotland, it would be a serious omission not to mention, and with honour, a very illustrious personage who, though not born in Scotland, was by descent a Scotchman, a lineal descendant of Scotland’s long line of warrior and statesman kings. This is no other than Henry Stewart, so long known as His Eminence Cardinal Duke of York. We do not say Royal Highness, nor, as a consequence, Henry IX of Great Britain,

for, all hope of a restoration of the House of Stewart had vanished, even before Henry Stewart was invested with the dignity of Cardinal. Mr. Robt. Chambers states that the Cardinal in middle life was not a favourite with the Jacobite party. This may have been by his having barred the way to his being head of the party by becoming a Cardinal. Probably, also, from his apparent indifference, when there was no longer any hope of the restoration of his family. In earlier life he was full of zeal in the cause and placed himself at the head of an army, provided by the King of France, and which was preparing to proceed to the assistance of Prince Charles, but was discouraged from making any attempt, on hearing that the latter had retreated from Derby. He became Bishop of Frescati, and possessed the revenues of two rich abbeys in France, Auchin and St. Amand. This, with a pension from Spain, and his income as Bishop and Cardinal, must have constituted a princely fortune. He was not, however, destined to enjoy it long. The French Revolution deprived him of the abbeys in France. The successes of Bonaparte in Italy and Spain caused his income as Cardinal and Bishop, together with his Spanish pension, to be lost. Notwithstanding these ruinous losses, he sacrificed his family jewels in order to enable the Pope to make up the sum exacted by the French

general. One of these was a ruby, the largest and the most perfect that was known, and which was valued at £50 sterling. Thus, greatly reduced in fortune, he resided quite retired at his villa near Rome, till the year 1798, when the revolutionary troops attacked and plundered his palace, and obliged him to fly for his life. He made his way to Padua and afterwards to Venice, subsisting by the sale of some silver plate. This was soon exhausted, and he became quite destitute. When such was the case, Cardinal Borgia, who had become acquainted with Sir John Hippesley Coxe in Italy, communicated to this gentleman the sad condition of Cardinal York. The same was imparted to Mr. Andrew Stewart, who drew up a memorial stating the whole case. Mr. Secretary Dundas laid this memorial before King George III, who immediately ordered the Earl of Minto, who was, at the time, ambassador at Vienna, to communicate to the Cardinal, in the most delicate manner possible, the King's resolution to offer him an allowance of £4,000 sterling yearly. Lord Minto, in consequence, addressed to His Eminence the following letter, dated Vienna, February 19th, 1800: "I have received the orders of His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to remit to your Eminence the sum of £2,000, and to assure your Eminence that in accepting this

mark of the interest and esteem of His Majesty, you will give him sensible pleasure. I am, at the same time, ordered to acquaint your Eminence with his Majesty's intention to transmit a similar sum in the month of July, if the circumstances remain such that your Eminence continues disposed to accept it. . . . In executing the orders of the King, my Master, your Eminence will do me the justice to believe that I am deeply sensible of the honour of being the organ of the noble and touching sentiments with which His Majesty has condescended to charge me, and which have been inspired into him, on the one hand, by his own virtues, and on the other, by the eminent qualities of the august person in whom he wishes to repair, as far as possible, the disasters into which the universal scourge of our times has dragged, in a special manner, all who are most worthy of veneration and respect." It has been remarked that the Cardinal and his brother Charles had a legal claim on the British Government for the arrears of the settlement made by Parliament on their grandmother, the Queen Consort of James II. It cannot be supposed, however, that this circumstance affected in the slightest degree the generous conduct of George III.

The Cardinal returned to Rome, and continued to enjoy the liberal pension till his death in June, 1807. He bequeathed to the Prince of Wales the Order of

the Garter which had belonged to his great-grandfather, Charles I., together with a still more precious relique, a ring which had been worn in ancient times by the Kings of Scotland at their coronation.

Cardinal York was far from ignoring these hereditary honours. Although he knew well that he never could be King, he, nevertheless asserted his claim on occasion of the death of his Brother Charles. He maintained it in a paper presented to the Pope, the foreign minister at Rome, and others. With this declaration he appears to have been perfectly satisfied, and struck a medal bearing the inscription: *Henricus IX. Angliæ Rex Dei gratia, sed non voluntate hominum.* (Henry IX., King of Great Britain, *by the grace of God, but not by the will of man.*")

Somewhat later, the Prince of Wales caused a monument to be erected in St. Peter's to the memory of the Chevalier St. George, the father, and his two sons, Prince Charles Edward, and Henry, Cardinal York.

CAP XV.

JOHN M'DONALD, 2nd VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE HIGHLAND DISTRICT, 1761-79—NEPHEW TO BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD—STUDIED AT ROME—MISSIONARY IN LOCHABER AND UIST—CHOSEN COADJUTOR IN 1761—SUCCEEDED HIS UNCLE—DIED IN 1779.

ALEXANDER SMITH—1735-1766—STUDIED AT PARIS—PRIEST 1712—COADJUTOR 1735—PROVIDES FOR THE SPIRITUAL COMFORT OF PRISONERS AT CARLISLE, 1746-1747—MUCH RESPECTED—COMPOSED CATECHISMS FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF HIS PEOPLE—MR. HAY ON OBEDIENCE TO SUPERIORS—POVERTY OF THE MISSION—INDULGENCE TIMES AGREED UPON—MR. HAY'S MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE USEFUL TO THE CHURCH—DEATH OF BISHOP SMITH, AGED 84, IN 1766.

Bishop John McDonald, Second Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District, 1761-1774, was a nephew, by his mother, of Bishop Hugh McDonald. He was born in Argyleshire in 1727 and studied at the Scotch College at Rome from 1743 till 1752, when he was ordained priest. He came to Scotland the following year, and at first laboured for some time as missionary apostolic in Lochaber. He was after-

wards appointed to the mission of South Uist. In January, 1761, he was chosen coadjutor to his uncle, Bishop Hugh McDonald, under the title of Bishop of Tiberiopolis and was consecrated at Preshome on the 27th September of the same year. He succeeded his venerable uncle as Vicar Apostolic of the Highland district, and died on the 9th of May, 1779, after a few days' illness.

Bishop Smith, a native of Fochabers, Scotland, went to prosecute his studies at the Scotch College of Paris in 1698. He returned from that seat of learning in 1709, and was afterwards ordained priest in 1712. He did duty as a missionary apostolic in Scotland till May, 1718. He was then appointed procurator of the college in which he had studied. In 1730 he returned to the mission in Scotland. In May, 1733, we find him once more at Paris. His stay there was not to be of long duration. Bishop Gordon, when Bishop Wallace died, petitioned the Holy See to appoint Mr. Smith his coadjutor. This was done accordingly; and briefs were promptly issued, 1735, nominating him to the said office by the title of Bishop of Misinopolis. The same year he was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishops Gordon and McDonald.

Bishop Smith fulfilled the duties of the episcopal office with great edification, unmolested, and appar-

ently without any remarkable occurrence, when in 1746-47, it fell to his lot to perform the difficult and dangerous task of providing spiritual assistance to several victims of Culloden who were detained under sentence of death, at Carlisle, in England. These prisoners, MacDonald of Kinloch Moidart, MacDonell of Teindrich and Charles Gordon from Mill of Smithston, contrived to make application to Bishop Smith for spiritual aid. According to his desire, the Rev. George Duncan, who had been missionary apostolic in Angus, and had been also, for a short time, a prisoner, gladly undertook the perilous mission. He obtained admission to the prisoners, as one of their friends, and enjoyed the happiness of administering the sacraments, not only to the few above mentioned, but also to several English gentlemen who were likewise under sentence. They all had the consolation and benefit of the Holy Communion, the good priest having borne the Blessed Sacrament along with him. Mr. Duncan then made haste to leave the gaol; and it was not a moment too soon; for he had no sooner reached Scotland in safety than he learned that search was made for him a few hours after his departure, information against him having been given by the magistrates. Bishop Smith appears to have been honoured with the greatest reverence, as we learn from a letter of Mr. Hay, of which the

following words are an extract : “ Believe me I have nothing more at heart than to discharge my duty to the best of my weak abilities ; and when I fall into any fault or mistake (as what other can be expected from my weakness), I assure you I will receive, as the greatest piece of charity that can be done me, to be advertised of it, particularly by you, whom I am bound to regard as in the place of God himself, and whose reprehensions I shall always esteem as the surest sign of your affection for me.”

Bishop Smith was full of zeal for the instruction of his flock. About the time just referred to, he had completed the preparation of a work which he had, for a long time, in contemplation. This was nothing less than a good catechism, the want of which had been long felt by the Catholics of Scotland. The work was twofold. It consisted of a shorter, or more elementary catechism, and a longer one for the use of children that were more advanced. The manuscript, when complete, was sent to Rome in order to be examined, and, if necessary, to be corrected, so that it should be published with authority for the instruction of the people. Abbate Grant, as earnestly requested by the Bishop, interested himself in the matter : and the Irish Dominicans at the Minerva were deputed to examine both catechisms. When their task was completed, they assured Cardinal

Spinelli that the works were thoroughly orthodox, and adapted, as they judged, to be highly serviceable in Scotland. It might have been expected that such a decision would have rendered all opposition impossible. It was not so, however, and such opposition arose as induced the Cardinal to defer the publication of the little books. On hearing of the Cardinal's decision, Bishop Smith urgently represented that delay would be a great hardship and would seriously injure the cause of religion in Scotland. The Cardinal was prevailed on to reconsider his judgment, and caused the catechisms to be translated into Latin in order that he might examine them himself. As he enjoyed a great reputation as a theologian, his opinion, confirming that of the Dominicans, was accepted by the Holy Office. This Tribunal, at the suggestion of the Cardinal, published a formal approbation of the catechisms, dated March 20th, 1750, a proceeding which it rarely has recourse to. Thus was Bishop Smith amply rewarded after a delay of seven years. He now hastened the printing of the catechisms and circulated them widely throughout his Vicariate.

About this time there passed many letters between Preshome and Edinburgh; and among the rest, a rather remarkable one in which obedience to the authority of superiors is strongly incalculated, Mr.

Hay, the writer, stating that he made it a rule for himself, in everything in which the authority of superiors is concerned, that their will should be his law, whether they condescended to make known their reasons to him or not, or, in whatever light their reasons might appear to him." It is illustrative of the poverty of the missions at the time, that, even at the head mission of Preshome, they could not afford a Ciborium for reserving the Blessed Sacrament, or a Pyx wherein to carry it to the sick. The church had been thoroughly robbed of everything. In the letter just referred to, Mr. Hay informs the Bishop that they had not yet had the happiness of retaining the Blessed Sacrament at Preshome for want of a Pix, (Ciborium) and begs the Bishop, if at all possible, to favour him with one.

As Preshome was the chief seat of the missions, the centre of a Catholic population and conveniently situated both as regards Highlands and Lowlands, it continued to be long the place where the Bishops met for consultation. At the time of which we are treating, Bishop Smith attended a meeting of Bishops there, and published an important pastoral letter regarding plenary indulgences that had just been granted by the Holy See to the Catholics of Scotland. These indulgences were to be annual and the times for them at the discretion of the Vicars Apostolic.

Mr. Hay made some suggestions to Bishop Smith in regard to them; and it was regulated in the pastoral letter referred to that there should be seven periods of indulgences in the course of the year—Christmas, the first week of Lent, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, All Saints and St. Andrew's day, the term for gaining the indulgences continuing throughout the octaves of those festivals. It was made obligatory on the priests of each mission to announce duly, beforehand, the times of the indulgences, lest any who should wish to avail themselves of them, should lose the opportunity of so great a grace. The conditions for gaining these indulgences, the clergy could learn from the appendix to Bishop Challoner's edition of the Roman Ritual. Prayer for the Church was one of the conditions; and with these were to be distinctly included prayers for the necessities of the missionary priests, as well as for each congregation in particular. All missionary pastors were required by the same pastoral letter, to be careful to impart the Plenary Indulgence to the faithful *in articulo mortis* (at the hour of death), according to the form prescribed by Pope Benedict XIV., and printed in the ritual above alluded to. The necessity of causing to be baptized infants, in cases where animation was doubtful and labour difficult, was also earnestly insisted on in the same

pastoral letter. It required that matrons and nurses should be carefully instructed in their duty regarding such cases lest unfortunate infants should lose "the blessing of baptism and eternal life." No proof of death, short of decomposition, was to be accepted ;—a wonderful agreement with the latest decisions of medical science. The conclusion of the letter shows how well the medical knowledge of Mr. Hay had served in its preparation. We read the following words: "As it often happens in drowned persons and other dying people, especially in instant and sudden deaths, that they appear to be dead before they really are so, it is also earnestly recommended that nothing be done with the bodies of such persons which might finish the small remains of life, far less to bury them hastily ; and that pastors be not over scrupulous in proceeding with extreme unction, once begun, upon persons in their last moments ; because it is frequently observed that after they have seemed to have breathed out their last, they fetch several gasps at large intervals, by which the last remains of life appear.

(Signed)

"ALEX. EP. MISINOP : V. A. in Scotia.
Preshome, August 1st, 1762."

From the time of Bishop Gordon's death in 1746, Bishop Smith was Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowland district, and continued so till his death, which occurred at Edinburgh on the 21st August, 1766, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

CAP. XVI.

JAMES GRANT, 1766-1778—WAS BORN AT WESTER BOGGS IN THE ENZIE--STUDIED AT ROME--ORDAINED THERE IN 1734—CONFOUNDS JANSENISM--RETURNS TO SCOTLAND IN 1735—IN LOCHABER AND BARRA—SACRIFICES HIMSELF FOR HIS PEOPLE—HIS CRUEL IMPRISONMENT—LIBERATED IN 1747—HIS HEALTH IMPAIRED—RESTS AT SHENVAL—IN RATHVEN—COADJUTOR IN 1755—IN 1766 VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE LOWLAND DISTRICT—DIED AT ABERDEEN, 1778—GEORGE HAY—HIS BIRTH AT EDINBURGH, 1729—STUDIED MEDICINE—WITH PRINCE CHARLES—A PRISONER—IN 1747 RETURNED TO EDINBURGH—BECOMES A CATHOLIC IN 1748—MAKES THE ACQUAINTANCE OF BISHOP CHALLONER—DECIDES FOR THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE—STUDIES AT ROME—REV. JS. STOTHERT ON THE HOLY CITY.

The place of Bishop Grant's birth was Wester Boggs, in the Catholic District of the Enzie, Branffshire. He studied at the Scotch College of Rome from 1726 till 1734, when he was ordained priest. Before returning to Scotland he prolonged his studies for another year, by the advice of his

Superiors of the Scotch College, at a seminary known as Notre Dame des Vertus. This house, it appears, although Mr. Grant and his friends knew it not, was infected with a strong taint of Jansenism. This became apparent on occasion of an excursion of Mr. Grant and his fellow students. There was in a room where they happened to dine a portrait of Quesnel, a notorious Jansenist. Represented on his head was a crown consisting of a number of small circles, on which were the names of his works. Not satisfied with this, the artist added underneath the following inscription :

Hic ille est quem plena Deo tot scripta coronant,
Magnanimus veri vindex, morumque Magister,
In quem sæva suos dum vertit Roma furores
Labi visa fides et totus palluit orbis.

Mr. Grant's companions loudly praised both portrait and inscription. With the utmost *sang-froid* the former observed that it would be no difficult task for him to compose a few lines more suited to the subject of the portrait. They dared him to try, when he wrote the following words :

Hic est plena malo qui demone scripta recudit,
Agni in pelle lupus, Regi qui Deoque rebellis,
In quem sacra vigil dum fulmina Roma vibravit
Vincit prisca Fides totusque amplectitur Orbis.

Needless to say, there was commotion in the Quesnel Jansenist House. Mr. Grant resolved to leave it and found a more congenial residence in the

seminary of *St. Nicolas du Chardonnet*, where he spent some time both profitably and happily.

In the year 1735 Mr. Grant returned to Scotland, and after spending a short time with his friends in the Enzie, was appointed to the Mission of Braes of Lochaber, as assistant to Rev. John McDonald. He was afterwards stationed in the Catholic Island of Barra. As showing how bitterly the Catholic clergy were persecuted after Culloden, it must be related that some ships of war had come to the coast in 1746; men were landed from them on Barra in search of victims. The chief object of their search, it appears, was the priest, and they threatened to lay waste the whole island if he were not given up to them. Mr. Grant, on hearing of those threats in a safe retreat to which he had retired in a small island, rather than see his parishioners reduced to misery, gave himself up to the enemy and was carried a prisoner to Mingarry Castle on the western coast. He was there detained for some weeks and then conveyed to Inverness, where he was thrown into the common prison, with forty prisoners together with him in the same room. This was not all. He was chained by the leg to Mr. McMahon, an Irish officer in the service of Spain, who had come to Scotland in order to be of service to Prince Charles. So chained, they could not, in

the night time, change from one side to the other, except by the one passing over the other. The people of Inverness humanely provided them with some conveniencies. Among other things, they gave to each a bottle, and this they hung out at the window in the morning, when it was filled by kindly persons with fresh water. One day the sentinels falsely informed the visiting officer that the prisoners had conspired to knock them on the head with bottles which they had ready for the purpose. In vain did Mr. Grant and others plead that the accusation was as groundless as it was improbable and ridiculous. They were not heard, but deprived of the bottles. Mr. Grant was afterwards heard to own that he felt more keenly this privation than any other cruelty that was inflicted on him. His brother, John Grant, of Wester Boggs, at length came to know where he was, visited him, furnished him with money, and made such powerful interest with gentlemen of their Clan as to obtain his liberation in May 1747. The condition was required that he should come under bail to present himself when called upon. To the influences on his side it must be ascribed that he was never so called upon. The minister and other Protestants of Barra gave testimony as to his peaceable and inoffensive demeanour during the insurrection. The cruelties inflicted, during his incarceration,

had seriously impaired his health. On being liberated, he returned to his brother's house in the Enzie in order to renew his broken health. In 1748, he repaired to Shenval in consequence of a recommendation that he should drink goat milk whey. Following this simple regimen, and, at the same time indulging in perfect rest from missionary labour, he recovered his strength and was able to resume clerical duty. The charge of the Catholics resident in the parish of Rathven was assigned to him in the autumn of 1748, on the removal of the Rev. John Gordon to the mission of Buchan. Bishop Smith now stood in need of a coadjutor; and having applied in the proper quarter, Mr. Grant was selected for the important office by the Congregation of Propaganda. Briefs nominating him Bishop of Sinita were forwarded on the 21st February, 1755. He was averse to this promotion; and his friends had great difficulty in persuading him to accept the dignity. The mere idea of it caused an illness which his constitution, already so severely tried, was scarcely able to bear up against. In consequence of this illness, his consecration was delayed till the 13th November. At that date, his health being renewed, he was consecrated by Bishop Smith at Edinburgh. On the death of Bishop Smith in 1766, he became Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowland district.

He died at Aberdeen on the 3rd December, 1778.

GEORGE HAY.—This celebrated prelate, whom his parents educated in their own religious and political persuasions as a non-juring Episcopalian, and who was destined afterwards to become so eminent as a Catholic, was born at Edinburgh on August 24th, 1729. He was of highly respectable parentage, the male line of the Hays, Marquises of Tweeddale, having become extinct in his person. His first studies were at Edinburgh, liberal, but not academical, his name not appearing in the books of the University. In the sixteenth year of his age he began the study of medicine, becoming apprentice to Mr. George Lauder, a surgeon at Edinburgh. In this early stage of his career he contracted friendships that were destined to be of long duration. He became intimate with Alexander Wood, Dr. John Gregory, Livingstone of Aberdeen, Dougal of Reith, and Strachan of Banff. The first of these celebrated men, so long known as "Sandy Wood," continued his friendship till the day of his death in 1807.

The medical school of Edinburgh, at the time of Mr. Hay's studies there, was at the height of its reputation. It was otherwise with the morals of the youth of that city, of which historians give a most unfavourable account. Mr. Hay, being a Jacobite, had no scruple in going to serve as a surgeon, to-

gether with his teacher, Mr. Lauder, in the army of Prince Charles. It cost him dear. In the course of the Prince's retrograde march to Inverness, Mr. Hay was obliged, the hardships of campaigning having impaired his health, to return to Edinburgh. When there, he was advised by his friends to present himself to the representatives of the established government in the hope that, as he had been equally attentive to the wounded and sick of both parties, and serving only professionally, he would be put to no further trouble. They were greatly mistaken. The unfortunate practitioner was detained for three months in the Castle of Edinburgh, and then sent to London, along with others, in charge of a messenger-at-arms. He was held a year in prison, but not rigorously treated. Friends were allowed to visit him and his fellow-prisoners. On occasion of one of these visits, Mr. Hay heard, for the first time, and not without surprise, some remarks in support of the Catholic religion, which happened to be made in a casual conversation between Mr. Meighan, the distinguished Catholic publisher, and one of his friends. The impression on the mind of Mr. Hay was ephemeral although, at the time, distinct and vivid. It was not, however, forgotten; he often alluded to it in after life.

Immediately after the amnesty of 1747, Mr. Hay being set at liberty, returned to Edinburgh. There

being question there of calling him as a witness against some of his associates in the Jacobite campaign, he retired to Kirktown House, in the West of Scotland, the seat of Sir Walter Montgomery, who was his relative. There he amused himself as best he could, with field sports, and when tired of them he had recourse to the library. There he happened one day to fall upon a copy of Gother's "Papist Misrepresented and Represented." He read it eagerly, and new ideas arose in his mind. Except the few words that fell from Mr. Meighan, he had never heard anything in favour of the Catholic religion. The sect in which he was educated was a particularly strict one. He, nevertheless, looked with indulgence on all other persuasions, except one. That one was the Catholic Faith. In the midst of all his doubts and perplexity he began to think that it might possibly possess the truth. He betook himself to prayer, and with an earnestness which showed itself by tears, he besought the Father of Lights to enlighten his mind and give him the knowledge of truth. He must have further information; and this could best be obtained from a living Catholic, especially a Catholic priest. As soon as he could prudently leave his retreat at Kirktown of Kilbride, he returned to Edinburgh in order to continue his enquiries; but, meanwhile, did not refrain from more

commonplace occupations. As he was attending the fencing school of one Mr. John Gordon, of Braes, this worthy man completely won his confidence. Hence he expressed to him his great desire to become acquainted with a Catholic. This delighted the good man, who exclaimed with warmth: "Thank God, I am one myself." An introduction to a priest of the Society of Jesus soon followed. This was no other than the Rev. Father Seton of Garleton, at the time resident in Edinburgh. Mr. Hay, under his care, enjoyed a regular course of instruction and preparation. He was, in due time, received by this excellent priest into the Catholic Church on the festival of Saint Thomas the Apostle.—21st December, 1748.

Now nineteen years of age, Mr. Hay still adhered to his original design of prosecuting his medical studies. For this purpose he attended the able lectures of Dr. John Rutherford, with whom he became intimate. About a quarter of a century later, this learned doctor requested his former pupil, then a bishop, to recommend his son, who was setting out on his travels, to the acquaintance and good services of Abbate Grant, the agent of the Scotch mission at Rome.

It may be mentioned as showing Mr. Hay's proficiency in his studies, that in October, 1749, he was

elected a member of the Royal Medical Society, and in December of the same year, an "honorary member by succession." His professional studies, however, were not yet completed; and the facilities afforded by the society were of great benefit to him. It must now be observed that his change of religion was a serious hindrance to him in a worldly point of view. The iniquitous penal laws stood in his way. He could not graduate at the university, nor could he obtain his diploma at the Royal College of Surgeons, this corporation being restricted by the said laws from admitting Catholics among its members. When his studies were finished accordingly, he could do nothing better than open a chemist shop at Edinburgh. He continued for a year in this business. He was so seriously grieved by the cruel laws which denied him the free practice of his religion, that he conceived the idea of engaging in some foreign service, at the cost of abandoning his native country for the sake of the liberty which he could not enjoy there. It was not long till there occurred an opportunity of carrying out his view. A Swedish vessel that had been stranded on one of the Orkney Islands, was purchased by a company of Leith merchants and prepared by them for the Mediterranean trade. Mr. Hay arranged with the owners to accompany this ship in the capacity of surgeon. While in London,

preparing for his departure, he was introduced to the illustrious Dr. Richard Challoner, who was then at the height of his reputation, both as a Bishop and as an Apologist of the Catholic religion. This great prelate was no less distinguished for his learning than by his amiability of character and the eminent sanctity of his life. He became deeply interested in the young man who was now introduced to his acquaintance, and took pains to ascertain the true bent of his mind. Taking everything into consideration, he was soon persuaded that Divine Providence had marked the vocation of his new friend, designing him specially for the more exalted offices of the ecclesiastical state. It required no great effort of his influence to bring over Mr. Hay to the same conviction. It would seem as if the words of the Bishop had revealed to him the secret workings of his own mind, and he offered no opposition to the proposal of Bishop Challoner. The latter, accordingly, wrote to Bishop Smith at Edinburgh, informing him of Mr. Hay's dispositions, and asking him to secure a place for him in the Scotch College at Rome. Thus was it due, under God, to Bishop Challoner's penetration and the interest he took in the young student, that the Church and Mission of Scotland, in after years, received such great benefit from the services of Bishop Hay.

With his mind now at rest regarding his vocation and future life, Mr. Hay, in order to fulfil his engagement, passed on board the ship above mentioned, which was bound for Marseilles. The vessel touched at Cadiz, and while it lay in the harbour there Mr. Hay went on shore every morning to hear Mass. Becoming acquainted at Cadiz with a very pious Augustinian Friar, who was an Irishman, he acquired from his conversation a liking for the religious life, and even thought of renouncing the world and seeking the salvation of his soul in the seclusion of the cloister. It was otherwise ordained. A letter from Bishop Smith had been sent after him, informing him of a place being provided for him in the Scotch College at Rome. This letter was forwarded by way of Paris and passed through the hands of the Rev. Geo. Innes, Principal of the Scotch College, there. This dignitary expressed a high opinion of Mr. Hay, and regretted that he was not destined for his house rather than that of the "old town." Mr. Innes says, in his letter to Mr. John Gordon, Procurator for the Scotch mission in London: "By the account you give of him (Mr. Hay), it appears he is truly a hopeful subject, and I am sorry he did not pass this way. What Bishop Smith writes to Mr. Grant about him has determined the matter for his going forward to the old town (Rome), and I shall

do all I can, that he may meet there with everything to his mind ; although I can't say but I had much rather have got him to this House."

The Abbate Grant, on the part of Cardinal Riviera, Prefect of Propaganda, wrote to inform Bishop Smith that there were two vacancies in the Scotch College, one of which should be filled by Mr. Hay. His engagement with the Leith merchants was at an end, when their ship arrived at Marseilles. He was now free to proceed to Rome. Accordingly, we learn from a letter of Principal Innes to Abbate Grant, that he journeyed by way of Leghorn. "In all appearance," writes the Principal, "Mr. G. Hay will reach you before you get this line. I have, with yours, a letter from him from Marseilles, as he was just ready to depart for Leghorn. I wish you had many subjects like him for company's (mission's) service. Pray my best wishes to him, and prosperity to the end of his pious undertaking, I'm persuaded he'll profit much by Dr. Stonor."—Sept. 5th, 1751.

Another letter still further shows how great an interest Principal Innes took in the young student. Writing from Paris to his friend, Dr. Stonor, agent at Rome for the English clergy, he says under date Nov. 17th, 1751: "I'd fain know your opinion of our last student, Mr. Hay, sent by Bishop Smith with great eulogy of him, to our College in Rome ;

and, above all, I could heartily wish you would be helpful to him, without giving umbrage to the Reverend Father. By what I can understand, he is a lad very sincere, of good sense, and of more knowledge and experience than most we send thither. The only favour I beg of you is, that when you can prudently be of any use to Mr. Hay, or any other of our students with you, in that case you'll bestow on them your helping hand."

Mr. Hay was received into the Scotch College of Rome on September 10th, 1751.

The Reverend James Stothert gives a glowing description of the famous city ever ancient and ever new.

Rome at the time (1751) Mr. Hay went to study there.

"The City of Rome never enjoyed greater prosperity than about the time when Mr. Hay entered it as a student under Benedict XIV, a Pontiff justly regarded as one of the wisest and most learned among the Popes. The state and circumstance which distinguished the manners of the old European courts before the first revolution in France had not passed away. Rome was at that time, as it had often been before, the asylum of the unfortunate and the exile. The Prince who, in other circumstances, might have sat on the throne of Great Britain, was living in the

Palazzo Savorelli, with his pious wife, Maria Clementina, daughter of Prince Sobieski of Poland. Their younger son, Henry, had been lately, 1747, created a Cardinal. The visitor from a distant country, as he walked in the streets of Rome, might have met Alphonsus Liguori, then a priest, come up from the kingdom of Naples on the business of his new Congregation of the Holy Redeemer, or on the subject of his great work on moral theology, then in progress. Assemani might have been found at the Vatican Library. Paul of the Cross was erecting monasteries for the first Passionists of the Pontifical states. In the Roman schools, Lagomarsini filled the chair of Greek. The illustrious Boscovich was anticipating the discoveries of modern science, and building up his ingenious theory of the constitution of matter, in the chair of Philosophy. The Scotch College was, at that time, of more than usual efficiency. The office of Rector was filled by F. Lorenzo Alticozzi, S. J., one of the best superiors the College ever had. He was a man of strict honour and integrity, and, to great activity, knowledge and experience in the business of life, he united an extraordinary zeal for the salvation of souls."

CAP. XVII.

MR. HAY'S FELLOW STUDENTS—IN 1758 ORDAINED PRIEST ALONG WITH MR. GUTHRIE—RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS RENEWED—AT THE REQUEST OF THE POPE, THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN POWERS USED WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN FAVOUR OF CATHOLICS—ORDERS FROM THE PREMIER AGAINST PERSECUTION—COMPARATIVE CALM—REV. J. S. GRANT, COADJUTOR—GRANT OF 200 CROWNS TO THE MISSION THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF CARDINAL YORK AND THE EX-KING, HIS FATHER—ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND OF MORE PRIESTS—PAPAL BENEDICTION—MR. HAY GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF HIS JOURNEY—IN CHARGE OF RATHVEN—RESIDES AT PRESHOME—REV. MR. GEDDES' MISSIONS—THE CATHOLIC ENZIE.

Rector Alticozzi, so deservedly praised, was devoted to the cause of the Scotch Missions, and by his judicious management of the affairs of the college raised that institution to a state of great prosperity. He was rewarded by the esteem and affection of the students, and this circumstance induced the Father General of his society to say that "the esteem and affection of the Scotch boys for Alticozzi was an

honour to the Society." It was under such a master that Mr. Hay auspiciously commenced his ecclesiastical studies. It is not a little remarkable that at the time in question there were in the college, which counted only nine students, three future Bishops and a Cardinal. These were John MacDonald, nephew to Bishop Hugh McDonald of the Highland District, and afterwards his coadjutor and successor; Mr. John Geddes, coadjutor to Bishop Hay; and Mr. Hay himself, together with Mr. Charles Erskine, of the noble House of Kelly, who became eminent at the Court of Rome and rose to the dignity of Cardinal.

Considering what has been said regarding the efficiency of the Scotch College at Rome, it may appear superfluous to state that a student of Mr. Hay's ability was eminently successful in his studies. Having completed his course in 1758, he was ordained priest along with Mr. Guthrie, on the 2nd of April of that year, by Cardinal Spinelli, the Protector of the Scotch College.

The time was now at hand when it behoved the newly-ordained priests to return to their native country. Bishop Smith and their other friends were much concerned regarding their safety. In travelling they were exposed to a twofold danger. Great Britain being at war with France, both in Europe

and Canadian America, their voyage by sea exposed the Scotch travellers to being captured as British subjects, whilst, on the other hand, a greater peril arose from the chance of being seized by their own Government as Catholic priests. This would have led to imprisonment and probably banishment from the kingdom.

Anticipating his career in the missions, Mr. Hay generously devoted his medical knowledge to the cause of religion, taking a vow, March 27th, 1759, never to accept remuneration for medical assistance, however much it might fall in his way to afford it. It would have been more in accordance with the ideas of the present age, if he had resolved never to give medical aid at all, except in very urgent cases.

Mr. Hay and his companions could have little imagined the state of matters which awaited them in Scotland. In consequence of the amnesty of 1747, there could be no more prosecutions on account of Jacobitism. But the rancorous feeling against Jacobites and Catholics still prevailed. It appears to have increased in intensity about the year 1751. The ministers of the Kirk did their bitter best to rouse it up anew, and they succeeded but too well. Government, remembering its defeats and the Jacobite march to Derby, seconded their revengeful views, renewing its orders for the apprehension of Catholic

priests and the suppression of Catholic meetings. Soldiers were stationed in the districts where Catholics were the most numerous; and the search for priests was so vigorously resumed that none of them ventured to appear in public. Mr. Robert Maitland and Mr. Patrick Gordon were tried for being "habit and repute Jesuit priests, or trafficking Papists." They were found guilty, and sentenced to perpetual banishment, under pain of death if they returned, remaining "Papists." Bishop Hugh McDonald had returned from exile, to which he had been sentenced as a "Papist priest;" but such was the rigour of the search for such offenders, that he could scarcely appear in his own vicariate of the Highlands, where he was so well known, and lived very retired in the mountainous region of the Cabrach. At this new outbreak of persecution, Bishop Smith, who was engaged in providing copies of the Scriptures for his people, was a special mark for the cruel enemy. He eluded the search of his persecutors for some time, and then retired into England, in the hope that a better day would dawn for his afflicted country. According to the Abbate Grant of Rome, matters were as bad as immediately after the battle of Culloden. This worthy priest made a representation to some cardinals, his friends, showing the injustice and cruelty that were practiced. Through these cardinals the Holy

Father was moved to address the Catholic powers, requesting them to use their influence at the British Court in favour of the Catholics of Scotland. The Imperial, Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors were not slow to act. They even made a second application to the British Premier, who positively assured them that orders had been sent down to Scotland to stop all further prosecution on account of religion. Mr. Pelham had spoken to the same effect ; and the Secretary of War was to answer for the better conduct of the soldiers. Bishop Challoner, at a formal visit, expressed thanks on the part of the Catholics, to the ambassadors of the Catholic powers. There was now a cessation of the more active persecution ; and Bishop Smith, availing himself of the comparative calm, returned to his vicariate, and once more gave the comfort and encouragement of his presence to his afflicted clergy. This was most needed, in regard to the people as well as the clergy in the northern part of the district, where the Catholics, being the more numerous, the persecution raged with the greater fury.

Although the promises made by the British government, in compliance with the desire of the Catholic foreign powers, were but imperfectly fulfilled, the penal laws, nevertheless, were so far mitigated as to admit of the missionary priests emerging cautiously

from their retirement, and beginning to perform the offices of their sacred calling among the Catholic people.

At this time the Scotch Bishops sent their annual report to Rome, and failed not to represent therein the poverty and suffering of the clergy, praying Propaganda, at the same time, to appoint a coadjutor to Bishop Smith, now in his seventieth year. Their words were not lost on the most worthy Cardinal Spinelli, who had now succeeded as Cardinal Protector of Scotland. Through his endeavours and influence, all difficulties were finally overcome, and the office of coadjutor conferred on the Rev. James Grant, at the time Missionary Apostolic in his native parish of Rathven, County of Banff. Cardinal York also gave the aid and encouragement of his great influence. He and the ex-King, his father, obtained from Propaganda a grant of 200 crowns towards the relief of the great poverty of the missionary clergy.

The British Government had only mitigated; it was far from having done away with the persecution of the Catholics of Scotland. Bishop Challoner expresses regret that so little had been obtained in their behalf: "We are sorry our little endeavours to procure the peace and tranquility of your poor afflicted Church, have not met with all the success we could have wished for." (Letter to Bishops McDonald and Smith.)

Rev. Father John Seton admits a respite from persecution : "We have, ere now, stood the brunt of their persecutions, and have got a respite, *Modicum et videbitis me* ; a courageous patience can do a greater deal ; and God will send relief, I hope in due time, if we apply to him with fervent prayer." (Father J. Seton to Bishop Smith.) There was a great dearth of clergy ; so much so, that Bishop Grant was obliged to discharge the ordinary duties of missionary priest. These labours absorbed his time and rendered it impossible for him to assist Bishop Smith in those functions which belonged more immediately to the Episcopal office. It is no matter of surprise that, under such circumstances, the arrival of new labourers for the vineyard was looked forward to with joyful anticipation.

Easter Sunday, 1759, was the last Sunday the three newly-ordained priests spent together at Rome. Clement XIII., recently raised to the chair of Peter, gave the grand Papal Easter benediction for the first time. This is a majestic spectacle, unequalled even by any other Pontifical ceremony. It was our students' farewell to Rome after their prolonged sojourn, and Rome's farewell to them. On Friday of the same week, 20th April, they took leave of the Scotch College, where they enjoyed a high reputation for all the virtues proper to their state. The Abbate Grant,

writing to Bishop Smith, advising him of their departure, says: "For these many years, three better disposed and more accomplished young men have not gone from this place." By July 3rd, they reached Paris and met with an exceedingly kind reception on the part of the superiors and students of the college there. They remained seventeen days for refreshment and in order to provide themselves with new clothes, having travelled hitherto in their college dress. The time, as may well be conceived was agreeably spent. Mr. Riddoch, the agent for Scotland, took them to see the Abbey of St. Denys. They were shown there the tombs of the French Kings and other objects of interest that were in the Church. They were shown over the monastery, and beheld in its treasury the royal crown, sword and sceptre. A greater sight than all was the body of St. Louis, contained in a silver coffin. There were also many reliquaries of gold. The Principal, Mr. Gordon, engaged a "Bramas man," Mr. Mackay, who was an officer in the Scotch body guard, to show them the wonders of Versailles. Arriving there, together with this gentleman and the principal himself, they were conducted to the royal stables, where 6,000 horses were kept, the royal apartments of Trianon and the Menagerie. They also saw the Queen going to Mass, and viewed the apart-

ments of the King and Queen. They had the honour to stand near the Duke of Berry, afterwards Louis XVI., and the Count of Provence, two beautiful boys, while they dined. After dinner they were afforded an opportunity of seeing the great waterworks, as they were, on that day, exhibited to the States of Arras. They were allowed to remain a considerable time near the dauphins and the princesses, Madame Adelaide and Madame Louisa, while they were fishing in a pond. They spent the night at Versailles, and next day went to Marly, a royal residence, in order to see the machinery used in raising the water to Versailles.

Three days more and they left Paris, directing their course towards Douai. They met with a cordial welcome there, the rector of the college, Father Riddoch, the prefect of studies, Father John Farquarson, and the students, who, at the time were thirteen in number, vying with one another in showing them kindness. They speak of Mr. Farquarson as "one of the most sincere, honest affectionate, homely men" they had ever seen. They remained only four days at Douai, and then proceeded by way of Lille, Ghent and Antwerp to Rotterdam. As they were now approaching their native land, danger must be faced. In England a French invasion was dreaded, and hence orders were issued for a strict examination of every stranger on

his landing in Great Britain. The consequence of their detection would, in all probability, have been imprisonment, perhaps banishment from their own country. Their only chance of safety, as Bishop Smith suggested, lay in their being run ashore, like contraband goods, in a boat, during the night, at some lonely place.

Our travellers sailed for Leith in a Dutch vessel on the 9th of August. By the 15th they gained the Frith of Forth. A contrary wind obliged them to anchor at Buckhaven, a small fishing village on the coast of Fife. Thus, what appeared to be accident, afforded them an opportunity of landing which no ingenuity could otherwise have provided. The people of Buckhaven took them for merchants who had smuggled goods on board, and they were treated with great civility, every one hoping to make a good bargain. They walked along the shore to Wemyss, and there took horses to Kinghorn, whence they were conveyed by the regular ferry to Edinburgh. It was nearly four months (let it not be told in this age of railways) since they left Rome.

The Rev. Mr. Gordon, who was procurator at Edinburgh, gave a hearty welcome to our travellers who had so successfully journeyed. Bishop Smith was absent in the north, and so it devolved on Mr. Gordon to sanction the stay at Edinburgh of the

newly-ordained priests, for a few days, in order that Mr. Hay, in particular, should converse with his Protestant friends and possibly do away with some of their prejudices. His father, who was dead, had consented to his becoming a priest, and his sister and many other relatives showed no dislike to him on account of his choice, but earnestly desired that he might remain with them for some time. It was not considered prudent that three priests, strangers in the country, should travel together. Accordingly, Messrs. Geddes and Guthrie left Edinburgh without Mr. Hay, and proceeded by the coast road, on foot, to Aberdeen, where they arrived in three days. Having rested a couple of days, they journeyed on to Preshome in order to meet Bishop Smith. On arriving there, Mr. Guthrie was appointed to the mission of Glenlivat and commenced duty on 1st September. Mr. Geddes was left at Preshome in charge of the Catholics in the parish of Rathven. Bishop Grant accompanied Bishop MacDonald, for a few days, on his return from the meeting at Preshome to his usual residence at Shenval, in the Cabrach.

Mr. Hay, in writing to the Abbate Grant, gives a very favourable account of his journey. "It was without the least trouble or molestation any where." "My friends and relations have all received me with

the greatest affection ; even those who I least imagined would do so." He adds that it was on their account that he was allowed to remain a few weeks at Edinburgh. Bishop Grant was now relieved from the burden of parochial duties, and all the bishops from their anxiety concerning the young priests. It was now arranged that Mr. Hay should have the charge of the Catholics of Rathven, Bishop Grant, however, still remaining with him at Preshome. This was a less difficult mission than the more mountainous districts, and was considered more suitable for an ecclesiastic who, in early life, had been accustomed to a convenient way of living. Mr. Hay had an opportunity of conversing with Bishop Smith for a few days before he left Edinburgh. He then proceeded direct to Banffshire by the Highland road over "the cairn," and reached Strathbogie in time for Sunday, 21st October. In the beginning of next month he took up his residence with Bishop Grant at Preshome. Meanwhile, his friend, Mr. Geddes, had been appointed to succeed Mr. Thomas Brockie in the mission of the Cabrach and had fixed his residence at Shenval with Bishop MacDonald, who still lived there, in strict seclusion, under the name of Scott. The Cabrach mission was a serious charge. It comprised the Catholic population scattered over the parishes of Cabrach, Glass, Mortlach, together with

the neighbourhood of Huntly, Skirdustan and adjacent places. Later, in 1760, he was directed to extend his pastoral care to the Catholics of Strathisla near the town of Keith. Thus, to the four original stations, Shenval, in Auchendown, Beldorny and Aberlour on the Spey, it became his duty to add a fifth at Achanachy. These stations were visited by turns on successive Sundays.

Mr. Hay's mission, although more compact, was also very extensive. Under the name of St. Peter's, Rathven, it extended from the town of Cullen east to west, about ten miles, along the southern shore of the Moray Frith, to a small brook, called the burn of Tynet. Its southern boundary is near the town of Keith. It comprised nearly the whole of the district known as the Enzie, and so celebrated, for over two centuries, in the history of Catholicity in Scotland. The majority of its population have always been Catholic. In the comparatively short time from the beginning of last century, it has given seven Bishops to the Catholic Church in Scotland.

The Enzie being a very fertile country, its population still continues to be numerous, notwithstanding the system now prevalent of forming several small holdings into large farms. Thus, many neat cottages and happy homes have been swept away, causing to be regretted the kindly patriarchal rule which prevailed of old, "*Barbarus has segetes!*"

CAP. XVIII.

PRESHOME PLUNDERED—THE REV. JOHN GODSMAN—ARRESTED ; BUT SPEEDILY LIBERATED—IN CHARGE OF RATHVEN AS WELL AS BELLIE—MOVED ABOUT, PRIVATELY, DRESSED LIKE A FARMER—SAID MASS AND PREACHED IN BARNES; CHIEFLY AT MIDNIGHT—REMARKABLE RECONCILIATION WITH THE SOLDIERS—IN 1747 RESUMED HIS PRACTICE OF CELEBRATING IN A FIXED PLACE, WHICH WAS A LARGE COTTAGE—OVER 60 YEARS OF AGE WHEN MR. HAY JOINED HIM IN 1759—REPUTED “A MAN OF APOSTOLIC SANCTITY”—TWO CENTURIES EARLIER, AN ANCESTOR OF MR. HAY A PARSON IN THE SAME DISTRICT—MR. HAY’S DEFERENCE TO AND AFFECTION FOR THE BISHOP—GREAT WANT OF BOOKS—SPIRITUAL PRIVATION OF CATHOLICS—AN UNCOMFORTABLE HOUSE—PROSPECTS OF RELIGION IMPROVING—MUCH STILL TO TRY THE PATIENCE AND EXHAUST THE PHYSICAL POWERS OF THE CLERGY—EXTRAORDINARY SICK CALL—ILLNESS OF BISHOP GRANT—MR. HAY AN ADMINISTRATOR—A FRIEND OF MR. HAY—JOHN M’DONALD COADJUTOR TO HIS UNCLE, BISHOP HUGH M’DONALD—MR. GEDDES ILL—STATE OF THE SEMINARIES—MR. GEDDES, PRESIDENT AT SCALAN—HIS MERIT—LIST OF EASTER AND CHRISTMAS COMMUNICANTS—BISHOP GRANT AT ABERDEEN—DEATH OF CARDINAL SPINELLI—HIS KINDNESS TO THE SCOTCH CLERGY.

For some time before the insurrection of 1745, Preshome had enjoyed comparative quiet. Whatever facilities it possessed were, on occasion of the ill-fated expedition, ruthlessly torn away. The brutal soldiery, who beat and butchered a few starved Highlanders at Culloden, pillaged the Church of Preshome, carried the Books and vestments to Cullen and burned them in the market place. Since that time till the arrival of Mr. Hay, the congregation had assembled in a small room in the greatest privacy.

The pastorate of the neighbouring parish of Bellie was, at this time, and for ten years longer, held by the Rev. John Godsmán. From our earliest boyhood we have been accustomed to hear this worthy priest spoken of as a living saint. His mission was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin. He was born in 1698. Although his parents were Protestants, living in a fen which they held of the Duke of Gordon, he often, when still very young, was present at Mass and felt strongly attracted towards the Catholic religion. But, how or why he could not tell. The priest at Fochabers, Rev. Mr. Hacket, took notice of him one day, was at pains to instruct him, finding him intelligent and tractable, and received him in due course, into the Catholic Church when he was about eleven years of age. Showing afterwards a warm desire to be a priest, application was made to

the Rev. Charles Stewart for admission into the monastery of St. James in 1719. This could not be, however, as Abbot Stewart considered his age too great. He was, therefore, sent to Rome the following year. Mr. Godsman and his companions travelled through Germany in order to avoid a pestilence which was, at the time, raging in France. They reached the Scotch College of Rome, on January 21st, 1721. It was not long till Mr. Godsman became a favourite with his superiors, and particularly one of them, F. Wolfe, an Irishman and prefect of studies. When of age and his studies completed, he was ordained priest in the year 1730. When at Bordeaux, on his return to Scotland, he engaged for his passage with a Presbyterian shipmaster. This person was so won by his conversation and conduct on board, that he refused to charge him any fare. Arriving at Edinburgh early in August, it became his duty to celebrate mass in the lodgings of the titular Duchess of Perth. Having visited his friends in the Enzie, he was appointed in October to the mission of Dee Side. He was on the best of terms there with the neighbouring priests who were Jesuits. It was not long till Bellie, becoming vacant, 1734, he was removed to that mission. He dwelt for some time alone in the village of Auchenthalrig, adjoining the Park of Gordon Castle. Considering the times,

it is noticeable that the Duke of Gordon's factor, Mr. Alexander Todd, a Protestant, boarded, until his marriage, with Mr. Godsman. Soon after Mr. Godsman built for himself a cottage at Auchenthalrig. This cottage still forms part of the priest's residence there. Three years after he undertook the mission of Bellie, he was afflicted by a severe attack of palsy, which disabled him for a whole year. During the disastrous time consequent on the defeat of Prince Charles, Mr. Godsman was arrested and conveyed a prisoner to Fochabers. There being no charge against him, he was immediately liberated. Additional duty was laid on Mr. Godsman in consequence of the prominent part Rev. J. Gordon of Preshome had taken on the side of the Prince. He could not appear safely in public for a long time after Culloden. Mr. Godsman, accordingly, was obliged to minister to the people of Rathven as well as those of Bellie. In his missionary excursions, he wore the dress of a farmer, celebrated Mass and preached in barns, chiefly at midnight, in order to elude the search of the soldiers. He scarcely ever slept in his own house; but changed from one cottage or farm house to another, in the more hilly places.

At length, the officers stationed at Fochabers, learning on the testimony of both Catholics and

Protestants, that Mr. Godsmán was not only in-offensive, but lived like a saint, arranged so as to secure him against all further molestation. They concerted with him to meet them, one night, at supper, in the house of a respectable tradesman of Fochabers, whose wife was a Catholic. The officer in charge asked Mr. Godsmán, "What he was doing that made him so obnoxious to the Government?" Mr. Godsmán replied that "he only said his prayers and endeavoured to make his neighbours good Christians." "But, you pray against the King," rejoined the officer. "No sir, I pray for the welfare of all men; of all whom the earth bears and the heavens cover." The officer declared himself satisfied with this assurance, advised Mr. Godsmán to be as quiet and cautious as he had hitherto been, and promised to molest him no more. In the summer of 1747, Mr. Godsmán resumed his usual practice of holding public worship in a fixed place. This place was, at the time, nothing better than a large cottage. For a year more, the hour of meeting was still midnight. When Mr. Hay joined him in the Enzie missions, this venerable man was over sixty years of age, and was considered by all who knew him "a man of apostolic sanctity."

Mr. Hay's arrival at Preshome in 1759 was a great relief to Bishop Grant. It may be mentioned

here, as a remarkable circumstance, that the recently ordained priest commenced his career, which was destined to be so brilliant, in the same district in which his namesake and collateral ancestor had officiated, as a parson, two centuries before.

Mr. Hay, as appears from his correspondence, deferred greatly to his superior, Bishop Smith, and entertained for him sincere affection. From a letter to this prelate it appears that he was much concerned on account of the want of books of instruction for his people of Rathven. "There is a great want," he writes, "of proper books in the hands of the people. My heart bleeds to see the effect of that want. There are several of those pamphlets which I saw with you, such as, 'The grounds of the Catholic religion;' 'The Roman Catholic's reasons;' 'Short History of the Reasons;' 'Fenelon's thoughts, etc,' which might be of unspeakable advantage had we numbers of them. It would be a great charity to send us as many as you could of these pieces.'" Mr. Hay laments in the same letter the spiritual privations to which Catholics are subjected owing to the tracts of country to which each priest is obliged to attend, being so extensive, and quotes the sad case of a man in Strathisla, who died "without any help or assistance."

In addition to the labours and fatigue of a missionary life, Mr. Hay was obliged to put up with the discomforts of an old and greatly damaged house. Extensive repairs were necessary, but, in the state of the country, at the time, could not be undertaken. Rev. J. Godsman, writing to Bishop Smith, says: "As he (Mr. Hay) has been accustomed with better accommodation, I fear the room he is in, which is that above Bishop Grant's, is so cold in winter that it will impair his health. The flooring, ceiling and casements of the windows are so much worn that the wind and cold come in every way. I really think he is never warm in this weather but when in bed." Mr. Hay himself says, in a letter to Bishop Smith, dated January 1st, 1760, "I am very sensible of the danger of making great repairs; and, therefore, we shall do the best we can, with as little noise as possible; and I hope Almighty God, will, through your good prayers, hinder any bad consequences from the coldness of my habitation."

It afforded much comfort to Mr. Hay during the hardships of his first winter, to receive a most friendly and encouraging letter from the good Cardinal Protector at Rome. His Eminence congratulates his young friend on the improving prospects of religion in Scotland, and promises, ere long, to supply the scarcity of missionary priests, a subject which, he

assures Mr. Hay, is very near his heart. The kindly prelate concludes by exhorting Mr. Hay "to assure himself, more and more, of his good will ;" and adds : "I take leave of you in the Lord, with my paternal benediction.

Yours most affectionately,

G. CARD. SPINELLI."

Many discomforts attended the life of a missionary priest in Scotland at the time of which we are writing. Not the least of these was the very poor house-keeping to which economy compelled. It reminds one of primitive times and of the desert life to which persecution drove so many of the early Christians, to find a bishop contenting himself with such board as he could have for forty shillings a quarter, sitting by the same fire, using the same candle and sharing the same room with a parish priest. Yet in such humble ways did Bishop Grant and Mr. Hay appear to take delight. There was more still to try the patience, consume the time and exhaust the physical powers of the missionary priest. Sick calls were most frequently from a distance, requiring a journey of many miles over moors, by bad roads, through drifting snow, at times, and in the severest winter weather. Mr. Hay found it necessary to have a pony for such journeys. In relating incidents in which he was concerned, he was careful to avoid all mention of himself. On one

occasion, however, he forgot his usual caution and began his narrative with the words: "When I was priest at Preshome." He immediately recollected himself. But it was too late; so he proceeded to tell the company that, one evening, about eleven o'clock, when every one had gone to bed, and he was himself finishing his prayers before retiring, a loud rapping, as if with a heavy whip handle at the outer door, made him start to his feet. The servants also were roused and went to the door; but, when it was opened, no one could be seen. Search was made in all directions, round the house, outside. But still nobody could be found. Mr. Hay was too agitated by this extraordinary occurrence to be able to sleep. At two o'clock in the morning, the rapping was repeated. Mr. Hay dressed with all possible haste, believing, surely, it must be a call to some sick person. He was not mistaken. On opening the door, he found a man with two saddle horses, waiting to conduct him to a lady who was dying, at a distance of twenty miles.

The continued illness of Bishop Grant occasioned great trouble to Mr. Hay. During the whole of the winter, 1759-60, the worthy prelate was ailing, and, sometimes, so severely, that his life was despaired of. Mr. Hay's medical treatment, together with that of Dr. Donaldson, the Bishop's regular physician,

proved very successful. But, notwithstanding, it was considered that Bishop Grant could not survive any length of time, unless he was removed to a more southern country, where, also, he could have more comforts and better attendance. Accordingly, he set out for Edinburgh, travelling by easy stages. The change greatly improved his health; and this improvement continued throughout the whole winter.

While doing all in his power to promote the spiritual good of his flock, Mr. Hay, at the same time, gained the esteem and affection of his Protestant neighbours by his moderation and benevolence. He gave medical advice and dispensed medicines to the poor of all denominations without distinction. With only one exception, there was never any controversial dissension in the parish. The one case which occurred of a self-willed young man whose father was a Catholic, aspiring to make a religion for himself, was conducted so prudently, that it led to no breach of the general harmony.

Mr. Hay was distinguished by great activity, tact, and business habits. All this, together with his superior address, won for him the confidence of his superiors and brethren. And thus it was that he came to be appointed one of the administrators of the temporal affairs of the mission. It had been the

custom to assign this office to seven or eight of the senior missionary priests since its creation by Bishop Nicholson in 1701. Mr. Hay's colleagues, Rev. John Godsmán and Rev. William Reid, met him at Preshome, where, together with him, they addressed a joint letter to Cardinal Spinelli, dated, as was the custom, "*ad ostium speæ*." Later, Mr. George Gordon, another administrator, signed the letter at Aberdeen. The following month, Mr. Hay presented to Bishop Smith an abstract of his correspondence with Father Bruni, S. J., his former prefect of studies, on the subject of preparing youths for the Scotch College of Rome. Not long after, June 19, Mr. Hay wrote to the Procurator at Edinburgh, Mr. Gordon, in the name of Bishop Macdonald, then with him at Preshome, pointing out several material errors in the accounts of the mission, in a clear, business like, but deferential manner. Such letters Mr. Hay wrote in so masterly a way as to lead to the supposition that such like composition must have been a favourite study with him. He was not without private correspondents. One of the most valued of these was a lay gentleman, Mr. Alex Craw, formerly of Haughhead, but latterly resident in Edinburgh.

The clergy of the mission were now blessed to enjoy somewhat more peaceful times. This was more particularly the case in the Lowlands. Bishop

Macdonald, whose family had taken an active part in the disastrous expedition of Prince Charles, was still an object of pursuit in the Highlands. This made it necessary for him to reside the greater part of the time out of his own district. He was now aged, greatly broken down by the fatigues of his office and the hardships incident to the disturbed times. He felt, in the circumstances, the want of a coadjutor. Having applied to Cardinal Spinelli, this kindly prelate immediately complied with his request; and desired him to name, according to the received form, three priests, from whom the Holy Father might select one for the Episcopal office. The choice fell on the Rev. John Macdonald, the Bishop's nephew, who had been, for some time, a companion of Mr. Hay at Rome. Mr. McDonald had returned from his studies at the Scotch College of Rome in the year 1753; and was, from that time, engaged in the missions of Scotland. Lochaber was the first scene of his labours; and he was in charge of South Uist when his appointment to the coadjutorship took place. He retired to Shenval in order to prepare for consecration, under the guidance of his uncle. He was consecrated Bishop at Preshome, under the title of Tiberiopolis, by his venerable uncle, who was assisted, on the occasion, by Bishops Smith and Grant.

A little later, in the winter of 1761-2, Mr. Geddes was sorely tried by illness which he caught in the stormy wilds of the Cabrach. In the spring he had an attack of spitting of blood. Mr. Hay travelled all the way from Preshome in order to visit his friend and prescribe for him. Bleeding was had recourse to, as was the practice at the time, and not without success.

During the few preceding years, the ranks of the missionary priests were greatly thinned by death. The Rev. John Gordon at Huntly, and the Rev. George Gordon, who enjoyed a great reputation for piety, were much lamented in the Lowlands. In the other district, also, several good priests were called to their reward; among the rest a very valuable missionary, the Rev. Æneas MacDonald. In the whole Highlands there remained only three priests capable of doing duty. In some of the most destitute parts of his vicariate, Bishop Hugh Macdonald was on this account under the necessity of undergoing the labours of a missionary priest, notwithstanding the great risk to which he was thereby exposed.*

The solicitude of the Bishop was now directed to the state of the seminaries, which was anything but satisfactory. Ever since the affair of 1745, the

*If discovered, death might have been the consequence, as such was the penalty for a person under sentence of banishment, who returned home.

Government had so strictly watched the proceedings of the Catholics, that it was found to be impossible to make any provision, by means of seminaries, for the ecclesiastical wants of the mission. Bishop Macdonald did all that could be done as regarded the Highland district. He boarded a few boys in private houses near Fochabers, caused them to attend the common schools and receive spiritual instruction from the Rev. Mr. Godsman. This was nearly all that could be done for the benefit of the Highland vicariate. In the Lowlands there was a seminary, Scalan, which has already been mentioned. It was, however, in a very humble condition; and, in the evil days, could not be improved. It had some success under the presidency of the Rev. Mr. Duthie. On his departure to become prefect of studies at the Scotch College at Paris, and afterwards missionary apostolic at Huntly, Scalan lost, for a time, all its efficiency. This state of things continued till September, 1762, when the Rev. Mr. Geddes was recalled from Shenval and appointed president. This worthy priest, who is always highly spoken of whenever we meet with his name, had now for three years been engaged, notwithstanding his wretched health, in a mission than which there was none more laborious in the Lowland vicariate. Bishop Grant bore testimony in glowing terms to his distinguished

services there. "He had not," says the Bishop, "been fully three years in that country (Auchendown) at the time of his removal, when by his fervent zeal, unwearied activity, and much more by the uncommon sweetness of his temper and his exemplary life, he was the means, under God, of the conversion of nine persons, fully instructed and confirmed last August; besides many others, not sufficiently disposed for the sacraments, when he was torn from his flock, notwithstanding the universal regret of all who knew him, both Catholics and Protestants, who, in spite of their prejudices against his principles, esteemed and loved him."

In 1762 Mr. Hay commenced keeping an account of his communicants. Their names, in his handwriting, are still preserved at Preshome, arranged under the Sundays and festivals from 1762 till 1767. So lately as 1828, a woman survived in that locality who had been prepared for her first communion by Mr. Hay, while officiating as a missionary priest at Preshome. There is a table still extant which shows the number of his communicants at Easter and Christmas during the years referred to. In addition there was every year a large Communion at the Assumption:

1762, Easter 460;

1763, Easter 460; Christmas 379.

1764, Easter 450; Christmas 332.

1765, Easter 475 ; Christmas 350.

1766, Easter 480 ; Christmas 360.

1767, Easter 520 ; Christmas 360.

Mr. Hay now earnestly suggested, founding on his medical knowledge, that Bishop Grant should pass the approaching winter at Aberdeen. This, he insisted, would greatly benefit his health. The Bishop accordingly, took a lodging in the house of a Mrs. Thomas Young.

There must now be chronicled a heavy loss which the mission sustained in 1763 by the death of Cardinal Spinelli. About ten years previously he found it torn by internal dissensions and opposed externally by the arbitrary and persecuting Government of the time. The latter evil, through the Divine goodness, was now greatly mitigated. The wise measures of the deceased Cardinal, firmly persevered in, had almost entirely restored peace and union among the missionary priests. This happy result was chiefly brought about by discouraging the cabals and intrigues of certain parties that were not over friendly to the secular clergy in general. Cardinal Spinelli entertained a warm regard for the Scotch Bishops and clergy, extending his kindness even to the students. He also contributed or procured considerable pecuniary assistance to the mission and the seminaries. For these reasons the venerable prelate

is justly numbered among the best benefactors of the Catholic Church in Scotland. Such was the affection entertained for him by the clergy that his death was felt by them as a personal loss.

CAP. XIX.

ALBANI, CARDINAL PROTECTOR—HIS INJUDICIOUS MEASURE—DIFFICULT TO MAKE A CENSUS OF THE CATHOLICS—THEIR NUMBER DIMINISHED—18,000 COMMUNICANTS—NUMBER OF PRIESTS IN BOTH DISTRICTS—WHERE EDUCATED—SPECIAL MENTION OF MESSRS. HAY AND GODSMAN—DUTIES OF ROMAN AGENT—REV. G. GORDON, PROCURATOR—BISHOP GRANT DANGEROUSLY ILL—MR. HAY'S GREAT LABOURS—HIS ZEAL FOR ECCLESIASTICAL EDUCATION—THE OLD CHURCH OF PRESHOME RESTORED—FALSE ALARM—MR. F. MENZIES AT ACHANACHY—PROPOSAL TO GIVE MR. HAY THE CHARGE OF DOUAI COLLEGE—HIS COMMUNICANTS, 759—24 CONVERTS—DEARTH OF CLERGY—MISSION FUNDS—RENEWAL OF PERSECUTION IN THE HIGHLANDS—THE CATHOLICS STEADFAST—BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD DESIRES THAT EACH PRIEST SHOULD HAVE A HOUSE TO HIMSELF.

Through the interest of the ex-king (Chevalier St. George) Cardinal Albani was now appointed Protector of Scotland. The Scotch had very little to thank their would-be Monarch for in this appointment. Albani was the very opposite of the good

Spinelli. It cannot be said that he was unjust ; but he knew no mercy. His first measure was as hard, as in the circumstances of the time and country, it was impolitic. He made a condition of the payment of the legacies left to the seminaries by the late Cardinal, which certainly was not in Spinelli's will. His right to do so, according to our idea of last wills and testaments, may well be questioned. He intimated to the Bishops that the legacies in question would not be paid until a full and exact account or census of the state of seminaries, and of religion in general, should be made out and returned to Rome. As Cardinal Protector, he may have been entitled to command such a measure ; but we fail to see that he could make the execution of it a condition of the payment of Spinelli's bequests. It was highly impolitic, besides, as it was calculated to arouse the jealousy of the Government which still, through the penal laws, held the lash of persecution over the heads of the Catholic people. The Scotch Catholics were so widely scattered, moreover, especially in the Highlands, that it was exceedingly difficult and not without danger, to obtain such a report. The Bishops, however, set to work, and a return of the statistics of the Lowland District was made that same year. But such was the difficulty in the Highlands, where there were only four secular and three Jesuit

priests, that it was impossible to enumerate the population scattered throughout the missions till the year 1764. It must be stated that Propaganda also required this census, as a condition of continuing their annual subsidy.

The report of the Bishops made manifest how disastrous to the Catholics the expedition of Prince Charles had been. Their numbers were diminished, in consequence, by at least 1,000. The Government soldiery, the executions, voluntary exile, and transportation to the American colonies, had reduced, to that extent, their numbers in the years 1745 and 1746. When war with France broke out in 1756 there was another loss of population, not fewer than 6,000 Scotch Catholics being then, as was calculated, draughted into the army for military service, chiefly in the East and West Indies. The number of communicants in the whole country, as stated in the report, was 18,000, those of the Highlands being double those of the Lowland vicariate. It was otherwise as regarded the number of secular priests in each district, there being only four in the Highlands, while there were twelve in the Lowlands. The latter district possessed, in addition, ten Jesuit Fathers, the former only three. The greater number of the secular clergy had been educated at the Scotch College of Rome, as had been also the Bishop of the Highland District and his

coadjutor, together with the coadjutor of the Lowlands.

The report further shows that at the time it was despatched, Mr. Hay, in addition to his mission of Rathven in the Enzie, was charged with the still more laborious mission of Strath-isla, of which Keith is the chief town. It was, at the time, without any other pastor. It is noticeable that in the report of the Bishops, Messrs. Hay and Godsman are specially spoken of as being both worthy sons of the Scotch College of Rome, distinguished by great piety, prudence and zeal "according to knowledge."

We now find Mr. Hay, September, 1763, acting as secretary to a full meeting of all the bishops and administrators at Edinburgh. Abbate Grant, from the nature of his position, was obliged to devote much of his time to the entertainment of the numerous British visitors of distinction who came to visit the Papal city. This led to a certain neglect, as agent of the interests of his constituents in Scotland. Mr. Hay, in the name of the administrators, wrote a vigorous but friendly letter, complaining of the agent, and enclosing a copy of the original rules of the administration, framed in 1701, regarding the duties of the Procurator at Rome. Abbate Grant replied, and having made a full explanation and promised amendment, Mr. Hay, whose sincere regard for the agent had never ceased since his student

days at Rome, recommended that the administrators should adopt mild measures in regard to him. To this they finally agreed. At this meeting, also, they appointed a new Procurator for the mission in Scotland, the Rev. G. Gordon, of Stobhall, Mr. Alexander Gordon retiring from the office.

It was a busy time with Mr. Hay on his return home ; and his labours were not lessened by a letter which he received from Bishop Smith, requiring him to repair to Aberdeen, where Bishop Grant was lying dangerously ill. It was thought that perhaps the life of the coadjutor depended on the advice which Mr. Hay should give. However this may have been, the Bishop's health greatly improved on occasion of Mr. Hay's visit. A favourable report was sent to Bishop Smith by Mr. Hay himself, who, in the same letter, adds : " I have been so hurried about with calls to Banff, Strathisla, Aberdeen, etc., and a crowd of business of one kind or another, at home, that since Bishop Macdonald left the Enzie, I do not remember to have been but two whole days at home all that time." Many years later he was heard to say that his fatigue, at this time, on Sundays, was so great that, from exhaustion, he was scarcely able to get home. Notwithstanding his engrossing occupations, such was his zeal for promoting ecclesiastical education, that, he took two boys from the Highlands

who had given some proof of a clerical vocation, to study with him at Preshome and prepare for a foreign college. This proceeding came to the knowledge of his Protestant neighbours who, looking upon it as the commencement of a seminary, which was against the laws, raised such a clamour, that he was obliged to abandon his laudable design.

Notwithstanding Mr. Hay's unceasing and exhaustive labours, he continued to enjoy good health throughout the winter, as he himself states in a letter to Bishop Smith, of date March 1st, 1764.

As there was only poor accommodation for the congregation at Preshome, Mr. Hay was anxious to restore the ancient chapel of the Craigs, which had never been used since it was pillaged by the Government troops in 1746. Much difficulty, however, was anticipated ; and accordingly, Mr. Hay proceeded with the utmost caution and prudence. His first step was to request the influence of his relative, Hay of Rannes, with the minister of the place. Mr. Hay and his family entered cheerfully into the plan of restoration, and, without difficulty, obtained from Mr. Grant, the minister, a cordial promise that he would not only throw no impediments in the way, but would assist with all his power. He began by removing everything about the place which belonged to himself ; and said that if any notice was taken

of the undertaking in the Presbytery, he would do all he could to prevail on his fellow-Presbyterians to overlook the proceeding. He undertook, also, to give Mr. Hay timely warning if the Presbytery should decide unfavourably to him. He thus showed, in a very marked way, his appreciation of Mr. Hay's prudence and peaceable demeanour. There was much deliberation as to whether the arrival of the young Duke of Gordon should be awaited, as he was proprietor of the ground on which the Church stood, and could effectually put a stop to all operations. At first, a few men were set to work repairing the old building, of which the walls still remained, as a monument worthy of being preserved, placing a roof on it, etc. Meanwhile, the sentiments of the neighbours could be ascertained, as the work would necessarily attract attention. Then if no serious objections were made to the Catholics resuming possession of their old Church, it might be opened, at first, on Sunday afternoons, for the catechism class, or the Sunday school, and, afterwards, oftener, as they found encouragement. There would, as a further step, be prayers on some half-holiday, but, without closing the meeting at Pres-home, till full possession was secured. Whilst all this was proceeding, friends of the Duke of Gordon were engaged to represent to him that, by favouring

the restoration, he would gain the good will of his numerous Catholic tenants, on occasion of his first residence among them. For this end, it was urged, he had merely to overlook their proceeding in regard to the old Church. Labours, so wisely directed, could not well fail to succeed; and the design of Mr. Hay was fully carried out by the end of the following year. On December 3rd, 1765, Mr. Hay wrote to Bishop Smith that their chapel (Church) was now in good order, and an altar erected, with which all were pleased. A circumstance may now be mentioned which shows that Catholics were still in dread of Government persecution. One Sunday, Mr. Hay was standing at the altar in the recently repaired Church, ready to begin Mass, when word was brought to him by some one who had been appointed to keep watch outside, as was still the custom, that a soldier was seen approaching. Mr. Hay immediately withdrew into the adjoining wood; but was speedily informed that the disturbance was caused by a false alarm. The bright scarlet waistcoat of a worthy citizen of Fochabers, the father of the late Rev. G. Mathieson, had been mistaken for the British uniform. The panic, of course, subsided and Mass was proceeded with.

The temporary vacancy of several neighbouring missions now added considerably to the labours of Mr.

Hay. He, in consequence, requested F. Alex. Menzies, who succeeded Mr. Geddes in the Cabrach, to take the station at Achanachy, near Keith, off his hands. F. Menzies replied: "I am very sensible how fatiguing it must be for you to serve both the Enzie, Grange and Achanachy; and you judged well that I would incline to see my friends at Achanachy as often as I can." (March 30th, 1764.)

An occasion now occurred on which the wonderful ability of Mr. Hay for missionary duty was recognized. The Scotch Bishops were about to recover their college at Douai, in consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits from France; and it was in contemplation to appoint Mr. Hay to the charge of this institution. Rev. G. J. Gordon, one of the senior missionary priests, opposed this proposal. He speaks of Mr. Hay in the following eulogistic terms: "I have very seriously and attentively considered the proposals about a Master for the House of Douai, if it is obtained. As to Mr. Hay, I think him much better fitted for being more useful as a labourer at home, by his clever, active spirit and great qualifications for doing greater good in the country, than in the narrower sphere of a shop (college) and a few prentices (students). Besides, the place now occupied could not be so advantageously filled by any other labourer (missionary priest) we have at present. Moreover, it is of no small consequence

to have so near the Duke of Gordon's door (whose inclinations towards us are yet much in the dark), a person that is much loved and esteemed by every one, and has gained kindly many friends among the better sort, who may be of use to protect him if any danger was threatened. In fine, which with me is of great weight, he is, in my opinion, the only fittest person, among all the missionary priests, to be made a coadjutor in due time, being neither too young, nor too old, and having abundance of qualifications, both natural and acquired, with much zeal and a great fund of piety. . . . So that it would be very unadvisable to let him go out of the country, or from the place wherein he is settled." Dated Aberdeen, March 12th, 1765.

Bishop Smith, in replying to this letter, alluded to another reason for retaining Mr. Hay in the country, insisting that his medical knowledge was absolutely necessary for preserving Bishop Grant. The idea of his appointment was, therefore, abandoned ; and Mr. Robert Grant sent to govern the seminary.

In Lent, 1765, Mr. Hay sent a report of the state of his mission to Propaganda, through Bishop Smith. The number of his communicants was 959, probably including those of a neighbouring mission which he had to attend to at the time. Within the preceding five years, twenty-nine new communicants

had been received into the Church, or were in course of preparation.

Bishop MacDonald's report had awakened the Cardinal to a sense of the want of clergy in Scotland. Cardinal Catelli, who succeeded Spinelli in Propaganda, felt more particularly this want; and the Cardinals of Propaganda held a meeting, on this important subject, with the Protector, Albani, and Cardinal York, who was now Bishop of Frascati. Time only, through the agency of well-directed seminaries, could provide the much-desired remedy.

There were many reasons for desiring a greater number of priests, and the want of them was more felt in the Lowland than in the Highland district. In the Lowlands there were several noble families, each of whom required a missionary priest to themselves such as Traquair, Drummond and Stobhall. In towns where the spirit of persecution still existed, sometimes more, sometimes less active, like a smouldering fire which rises or falls with the changeful gale, a greater number of priests were necessary for supplying the spiritual wants of their flocks, because they were obliged to live very privately, almost in total concealment. In the Lowlands, also, although the number of Catholics was less than in the Highlands, they were more scattered and mixed among Protestants, with whom they were necessarily in

relation, and, consequently, in greater danger of perversion than their brethren in the Highlands ; and hence the greater need of pastoral superintendence.

It was manifest also, from experience, that wherever a priest was supported, religion prospered, and its decline followed as soon as he was removed. There were several parts of the country where the "Reformation" was not deeply rooted, in which the settlement of a learned and zealous priest might be attended with much good. Such arguments and statements were laid before the Cardinals through the Bishops, and inclined them more and more to give all the assistance in their power.

Meanwhile, Mr. Hay insisted much on a strict investigation and account of the funds of the mission, recommending strongly an endeavour to obtain further assistance. The Bishops, at the same time, were preparing a powerful appeal to Propaganda, and collecting details and opinions from all the more influential priests in order to support their claim for more aid, in both men and money. Mr. Hay wrote once more to Bishop Smith, discussing the whole subject, and earnestly advocating a frank disclosure, of all the resources of the mission fund, such as they were. Bishop Smith, in a notice of Mr. Hay's letter, which he communicated to Mr. G. J. Gordon, April 20th, 1765, says: "He generally writes very judi-

ciously. But, sometimes, pushes things too far."

Not only was there, as we have just seen, a spirit of persecution in the towns of the Lowlands; this amiable quality appeared anew in the Highlands. It broke out with renewed vigour in the remoter parts of the western Highlands. The Factor on the forfeited estates, while collecting the rents at the end of the year 1764, gave notice at the instigation of some of the more violent ministers, to all the tenants, that unless they began immediately to attend public worship in the parish church, they must all leave their farms at the next term. This was a trial of their fidelity to their religion of no ordinary severity. On the one hand, ruin and starvation were imminent if they refused to comply, their farms being their only source of subsistence; whilst on the other, they had lately enjoyed but few opportunities of instruction and encouragement in the practice of their religious duties, owing to the scarcity of missionary priests. Notwithstanding all this, these good people, in the hour of trial, were not wanting in that spirit of Christian fortitude, which animates to martyrdom. They declared to a man that they would never renounce their religion. Government, it appears, had not sanctioned such extreme measures, for, when the case was represented to them, they caused matters to be accommodated without disadvantage to the injured

Catholics. It was still necessary, however, for the Catholics to observe the greatest caution and prudence. This is further shown by a communication of Bishop Hugh MacDonald to the Scotch agent at Rome. He gives a full description of the necessities of his mission and of the impossibility of opening a seminary. This was due, partly to the positive want of any one to preside over it, and partly to the strict watch over every movement of his by a number of the ministers who, being without congregations, had nothing better to do than to act as spies on their Catholic neighbours, and by their wicked contrivances, bring them into trouble. "Though the present movement," says the Bishop, "be visible in that respect, yet under agents, instigated by our enemies, even execute the laws that are in force against us; for which reason we must act wisely and step by step for fear of raising a new storm."

The Bishop, nevertheless, was determined, as soon as there was any possibility of doing so, to establish a seminary. In the meantime, he sent his "Prentices" to a distance, under the care and direction of Mr. Godsman and Mr. Hay, in the Enzie. He had applied to the latter for a character of the two boys supported by Cardinal Spinell's legacy, which had been presented to the Protector with the Bishop's

attestation. It shows both the poverty of the mission and the value of money at the time, that Bishop MacDonald gave it, as his opinion, that a missionary could not have less for a decent maintenance than £20 in the year. He looked forward, hopefully, to the time when each pastor should have a dwelling of his own, however humble, to which he might retire to recollect himself and compose his dissipated spirits in prayer and study ; for nothing but danger could result from his going continually from one house to another, with mean accommodation, and no opportunity of seclusion, as was then the case with Highland missionary priests.

CAP. XX.

MR. HAY'S SUCCESS AS A PREACHER—DEATH OF BISHOP SMITH, AGED 84, IN 1769—MR. HAY, PROCURATOR—RESIDES AT EDINBURGH—SUCCEEDED AT PRES-HOME BY MR. JOHN GEDDES—MR. HAY, COADJUTOR—DEATH OF THE REV. JOHN GODSMAN—REPUTED A SAINT AND MUCH LAMENTED—DESTITUTION OF THE MISSION—EFFORTS FOR ITS RELIEF—LIBER-ALITY OF MR. CONSTABLE—£1000 FROM ROBERTUS JACOBUS THROUGH BISHOP CHALLONER—BISHOP HAY AND REV. J. GEDDES STRIVE TO HAVE CATH-OLIC PUBLICATIONS--“JOHNNY PETERSON ”--SCALAN A COLLEGE IN SPAIN—FRUITLESS FOR A TIME—REV. J. GEDDES, DELEGATE—HIS SUCCESS—GENER-OSITY OF SPANISH AMBASSADOR—COLLEGE TRANS-FERRED TO VALLADOLID—MR. GEDDES TEN YEARS RECTOR—PERSECUTION POWERLESS—CONVERSIONS IN ALL CLASSES OF SOCIETY—BISHOP HAY AND SCALAN—FIRST MENTION OF BISHOP RONALD M'DONALD—THE BOISDALE PERSECUTION—LEADS TO IMPORTANT EVENTS—HARD LAIRDS BROUGHT TO REASON.

Mr. Hay highly appreciated the importance of good preaching ; and he applied with great judgment

and industry to the work of acquiring the art of extemporaneous preaching, which he believed to be the most effective. His studies were not in vain ; and we have it on the authority of his best biographers that as a preacher he became very popular. Protestants even took delight in hearing him. It is related that on occasion of one of his journeys through Buchan he stayed over a Sunday and preached at a place called Bythe. There were many Protestants among his hearers ; and it was observed that they were moved to tears, and were heard to say to one another as they came out : " If he preached here always, we would never go anywhere else." Such impressions could not be too often produced, especially in such times as those in which the lot of Mr. Hay and his brethren was cast.

Soon after the death of Bishop Smith, at the advanced age of eighty-four, in the year 1769, Mr. Hay was appointed Procurator for the mission of Scotland ; and was, in consequence, obliged to leave his congregation at Preshome, in whose cause he had laboured so well and so successfully, and take up his residence at Edinburgh, his native city. He was succeeded in his pastoral charge of Rathven by Mr. John Geddes, who, such was the importance of this mission, was recalled from the presidency of Scalan, and replaced there by a priest recently ordained at

Rome, and who had been for a short time prefect of studies at Douai. Mr. Hay, notwithstanding the laborious nature of his new charge, which he owed to his great ability and experience in business, was not exempt from missionary duty, for which there was a large field at Edinburgh.

Another year, and another, and greater dignity fell to the share of Mr. Hay. It is not to be wondered at that Bishop Grant, now Vicar Apostolic, who had been so often and so severely tried by illness, should seek the aid of a coadjutor. With the consent of both the Highland bishops and of the whole clerical body in the Lowlands, he proposed Mr. Hay. The proposal at once received the sanction of the Holy See. No voice was raised against the appointment, except that of Mr. Hay himself. His unwillingness to accept the dignity and his dread of its responsibilities may be learned from his letters, on the occasion, to Abbate Grant and Cardinal Castelli. The consecration could not well take place till summer, when travelling is less difficult. Danger of publicity must also be avoided, such was still the state of feeling in the country regarding Catholics. Edinburgh could not be thought of, nor could Preshome, where anything concerning Mr. Hay would spread with all the rapidity of rumour. Scalan, therefore, was determined on, as being so much more

retired than any other place. Thither, accordingly, the Bishops proceeded, and on Trinity Sunday, May 21st, 1769, Mr. Hay was consecrated, under, the title of Bishop of Daulis, by Bishop Grant of the Lowland Vicariate, who was assisted by the venerable Bishop Hugh Macdonald, of the Highlands, and his coadjutor, Bishop John Macdonald.

The same year the Rev. John Godsman was called from his earthly labours. His best eulogium is the universal mourning which his death occasioned, and the opinion, unanimously expressed, that a real saint had passed from earth to heaven.

At the time of Bishop Hay's accession to the coadjutorship, the Scotch mission appears to have been in a state of great destitution. There was a great want everywhere, and even at Edinburgh, of suitable vestments and decent altar furniture. Even cheap books of instruction, that were so necessary for the people, could not be procured; and the clergy had no adequate means of subsistence, but were obliged to change from house to house, as circumstances might direct. An appeal for aid to the Catholics of England, through Mr. Constable, of Evringham, a warm friend of religion, was thought of; and Bishop Hay engaged the good services of the Dowager Countess of Traquair to induce Mr. Constable to lay the case of the mission before the

Catholics of England. Lady Traquair requested the Bishop to prepare a memorial, representing in plain terms the manifold wants of the mission. This was done, and both the Dowager Countess and Mr. Constable were highly pleased with the Bishop's statement. They resolved to lay it before Bishop Challoner; and, relying on his good will in the matter, asked him to give his opinion whether application should be made to the English Catholics generally, or that there should only be solicitation among private friends. It fell to Bishop Hay, the immediate departure of Lady Traquair and Mr. Constable not admitting of time to consult the other Bishops, to present the memorial to Bishop Challoner, in the name of his colleagues, stating at the same time, the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, at the time, of obtaining any aid from Rome, and suggesting that Divine Providence had, perhaps, reserved it for the English nation and for Bishop Challoner in particular, as the crown of his former good offices, to be the happy instrument of bestowing so great a benefit on the Catholics of Scotland. The reply to this appeal was very friendly, but, owing to circumstances, not calculated to afford any immediate encouragement. There were two public collections in progress at the time. "As to particular contributions," said Bishop Challoner, "I doubt not but some, if properly applied

to, might be willing to assist you. I shall make some trial among my friends." This utterance was a sufficient authorization for Lady Traquair and Mr. Constable to commence their mission of charity. Not long afterwards the latter sent £100 to Bishop Hay as a contribution from himself. When Bishop Hay was writing to inform Bishop Grant of the above particulars, he received another letter, in which Bishop Challoner writes, with evident pleasure; "Honoured sir, admire and adore the goodness of God. Since I wrote to you, I was visited by a person of great honour and virtue, to whom I showed your memorial, upon the perusal of which he proposed to me the giving you, for the necessities of your mission, the sum of £1,000, with an eye to your present relief, and the procuring the prayers of your missionaries for the repose of the soul of his kinsman deceased, for whom he had destined the money." Reference to the current directory and Ordo for Scotland shows that Mass is still celebrated by all the clergy for this generous benefactor. (*Pro Roberto Jacobo.*) Bishop Grant addressed a letter of thanks to the friendly English Bishop for his goodness. He replied in writing to Bishop Hay: "My best thanks to that worthy gentleman. His prayers I thankfully accept of; but, as to the rest, the benefit you lately received is owing to a particular providence of our merciful Lord. To Him alone be all the glory."

Bishop Hay, in addition to his episcopal functions and duties as a missionary pastor, was much occupied in providing for the security of the mission funds and, at the same time, with the settlement of the late Bishop Smith's affairs. He was also busy as a publisher. He contemplated printing ten or twelve thousand copies of a catechism. It would appear that the failure of the Catholic bookseller, Mr. Meighan, of London, interfered with this undertaking; for the Bishop complains that it caused great confusion and stagnation of trade among Catholic booksellers. The Rev. John Geddes, now at Preshome, made similar efforts; and even expressed to the Bishop his conviction that he ought to use some of the public money in printing books for the common people, such great importance did he attach to the gratuitous distribution of shorter catechisms and manuals of devotion.

Bishop Hay added to his other employments that of preparing ecclesiastical students for ordination. He taught a promising youth whom, in his correspondence, he calls *Johnny Paterson*, how to read Theology, and, in due course, had him ordained priest, and then set over the seminary and congregation at Scalan.

Considering that the spirit of persecution, although somewhat quiescent, was far from dead, it was

fortunate that any kind of seminary could be maintained in Scotland. In however humble a condition, the House of Scalan had been held for many years, and still showed no appearance of decay. It is not a little astonishing that in so Catholic a country as Spain, the same good fortune could not be obtained. About a hundred years before Bishop Hay's time, a Scotch gentleman, Colonel Semple, who had been long in the service of Spain, bequeathed a sum of money to be employed in founding a seminary at Madrid, for the training of Ecclesiastics destined for the mission of Scotland. The deed of foundation and endowment bears that "when the students, who must be Scotchmen by birth, of good family and character, shall be skilled in these sciences (the sciences proper to their state,) they must return to the said kingdom of Scotland to preach the Gospel, etc." The chief support of the seminary was to be derived from certain houses in Madrid, which belonged to the founder. The Fathers of the Society of Jesuits were placed in charge; and the right to appoint a rector was vested in the Provincial at Toledo. Great things were expected. But it so happened, that, for a long time, owing, perhaps, to the teaching and impressions imparted by the Rev. Fathers of the Society, students were formed who joined them, but not one who became a priest

for the poor missions of Scotland. Later on the seminary acquired so high a reputation as an educational establishment that it became a school for the children of Spanish Grandees. On occasion of the expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers from Spain, the seminary property fell into the hands of the Spanish Government. It was now, as a few words will show, nearer its destination, according to the will of the founder, through the action of the State, than when under the power of churchmen, who always claimed to be zealous champions of the Faith. The Grandees of Catholic Spain were not insensible to the evils that weighed so heavily on the robbed and afflicted Catholics of Scotland. The Bishops, being aware of this state of feeling, hoped that redress might be obtained by making application to the Spanish Government. The English Catholic agent at Madrid did all that lay in his power to assist in the matter. But it could not be hoped that a final and favourable decision could be come to until the Bishops were represented at the Spanish capital. At first, it was proposed that Bishop Hay should be the delegate. But he declined, as he could not afford, at the time, to represent, as became a Bishop, among the Grandees of the Spanish Court. The Rev. John Geddes was then chosen. He regretted leaving his flock at Preshome, and dreaded his

want of diplomatic experience. This was a groundless fear. His great ability and knowledge of the world fully qualified him for the office laid upon him. He hesitated not to obey, and at once proceeded on his journey. On reaching London, he was introduced to the Spanish Ambassador, who received him kindly, volunteered to defray the expenses of his mission to Madrid, and gave him introductions to his friends at the Spanish Court. This was an auspicious commencement. There was some diplomatic delay; and this, to an unexperienced diplomatist, was somewhat discouraging. It gave him time, however, to learn the language of the country and to make friends. Finally he prevailed. The Spanish Government gave up the Semple property without a grudge, to the Scotch mission; and, moreover, allowed it to be transferred to Valladolid, the delegate having represented that the climate there was better suited to the constitutions of his fellow-countrymen than that of Madrid. While the building intended for a college was in preparation, Mr. Geddes caused fifteen ecclesiastical students to be brought from Scotland, so that studies could be at once commenced. Thus was the benevolent and pious purpose of Colonel Semple at last effectually realized. Mr. Geddes, when writing home, says in a spirit of moderation, which well became his char-

acter: "I do believe Father Clarke and his brethren meant no harm to their country. They may have met with difficulties that we are strangers to; and they may have seen things in another light than we do. However, I think I may safely say that, in all probability, things would have been on a better footing in Scotland than they are, had even twelve students of the secular clergy been constantly maintained in Spain these hundred and thirty years, according to the founder's intention." Mr. Geddes remained at Valladolid over ten years, as rector of the restored college. This institution, so valuable to the missions of Scotland, has continued till the present time, with no other serious interruption than that which occurred during the wars of Napoleon. Those wars at an end, the professors and students returned to the college, and studies were resumed with the usual efficiency and success.

Although the missionary priests of Scotland were at this time very few in number, their labours were not without fruit. It would have been worthy of all their pains if they had only supported and encouraged to perseverance their Catholic brethren who had remained steadfast. But they did more than this; like truly good shepherds, they brought back the erring to the fold. At the hamlet of Auchenhalrig, the Rev. Alex. Geddes reconciled to the Church,

during the short time he was in charge there, no fewer than twenty-seven persons who had fallen away, and was favoured, besides, to receive several converts. The unwholesome breath of persecution which still filled the air could not prevent conversions, and they occurred occasionally in all classes of society. During a short stay at Aberbeen, in 1770, Bishop Hay received into the Church and confirmed a lady of some consequence, Mrs. Barclay, whom it cost him very little trouble to instruct, as she had already studied Gothic.

Bishop Hay was too well aware of the great advantages of a good ecclesiastical education to lose an opportunity of imparting it, or causing it to be imparted, to youths of good promise. To this enlightened zeal the mission was indebted for several worthy priests. At this time, 1770, the Bishop does not appear to have had a high idea of the competency of Scaln as a seminary. Two boys, who had run away from that place, he received into his own home, and taught them, together with one Ranald MacDonald, whom he had picked up at Inverness, till places opened for them in the foreign seminaries of the mission. The two first, Thomas Robertson and Robert Menzies, became very efficient missionary priests, while Ranald MacDonald, in due time, rose to Episcopal dignity, and was long known as the

honoured Vicar Apostolic of the Highland district.

Speaking of the Catholics of last century, it comes to be our painful duty to record a severe trial to which a considerable number of them were subjected—a trial which, whilst it caused great hardship to many worthy families, and inflicted lasting disgrace on its cruel author, led to events which are of no slight importance in the history of Canada and the Canadian Church. Mr. MacDonald, of Boisdale, who had been educated as a Catholic, but who, in his maturer years, renounced the Faith, with all the blind zeal of an apostate, resolved to force his numerous tenants, who were Catholics, to conform to the Presbyterian worship. The Island of Uist, the largest of the outer Hebrides, was almost all inhabited by Catholics. Boisdale and his cousin German, the chief of the Clanranald branch of the MacDonalds, were the proprietors. Boisdale, in addition to his own estate, held extensive lands of his cousin; so that his tenants, all Catholics, amounted to two hundred families. He, at first, in order to alienate the people from their religion, insidiously invited them to send their children to attend, gratuitously, the instructions of a Presbyterian tutor, who taught his own children. The unsuspecting people, anxious to have their children educated, availed themselves of an opportunity which appeared so

favourable. It was not long, however, till the real intention of the Laird became manifest. Abuse of the Catholic religion was mingled with the teacher's daily lessons. Scurrilous and even immoral sentences were given to be copied by those who were learning to write, and when Lent came round, flesh meat was forced into the mouths of the children. When the people noticed these iniquitous proceedings, they, with the concurrence of the missionary of the place, F. Wynne, O.S.D., withdrew the children from Boisdale's school. The latter now raged against the priest, threatening to apprehend him as a criminal, if he dared to perform, any more, any of the offices of his religion, or even to remain in the Island. He went so far as to say that if he met the priest, he would twist his head from his shoulders. F. Wynne withdrew to Ireland, his native country, and was succeeded by Mr. Alexander MacDonell, a secular priest. Boisdale now got up a paper, in the Gaelic language, which he summoned his tenants to hear read at the term of Whit Sunday, 1770. This paper, which contained a formal renunciation of the Catholic religion and a promise, under oath, never to hold communication with a priest, the people were required to sign, or leave their houses and farms in the Island. On this the tenants unanimously declared their resolution to beg or starve rather than submit to such conditions.

Accordingly they prepared immediately to quit the Island. This was more than the heartless Laird had calculated on. Dreading the loss which he would sustain in consequence of his lands remaining for a long time tenantless, he renewed the leases unconditionally for another year. He had no sooner done so, and had the tenants once more in his power, than he renewed his cruel demands, trebling and quadrupling their rents. He kept them, besides, in constant agitation by summoning them to discuss with him his unreasonable conditions, and that in the busiest times of the year. Far from the courts of law and legal advice, they could have no redress. In addition to all this, the cruel apostate used his monopoly of the trade of the Island to impoverish his tenants, and reduce them to the lowest servitude. It became thus impossible for them to escape from his tyranny by leaving the Island. And so, in the meantime, the barbarous Laird added insult to oppression, using the grossest abuse, apparently with impunity. But the day of deliverance and retribution was not far distant. The oppressed people of Uist were not without powerful friends. The aged Bishop Hugh MacDonald, on hearing of such cruelty, was greatly moved. He lost no time in laying the whole case before his Brother Bishops. The friendly Bishop Challoner was also duly informed,

as was also Cardinal Costelli. A plan for emigration to the American colony of St. John's Island (now Prince Edward's), suggested by Mr. MacDonald of Glenaladale, was highly approved of by Bishop Hay, whilst his friend, the Rev. John Geddes, was opposed to it on the ground that it was calculated to drain the Highlands of the Catholic population. It was not intended to be carried to such an extent, Bishop Hay showed, as to have this result, but would be sufficient to show the tyrant of Uist that the people there could not be bound to his yoke. The only difficulty was to raise the necessary funds; £2,000 would be necessary for the Uist emigrants. This sum, Glenaladale volunteered to procure on the security of his own estate. But this could not be done sooner than Whit Sunday. Meanwhile, Boisdale, hearing of the effectual means that were in progress for the relief of his tenantry, resolved on a cessation of his cruel measures; and Bishop Hay became convinced that the persecution was at an end. It was so, however, only in appearance. Boisdale had not as yet reformed. But he was not destined to hold out much longer. Emigration was beginning to tell, both as regarded him and other hard landlords. No fewer than 400 people had sailed from Skye to Carolina, with some of the gentlemen of that large Island at their head. Many of Glenaladale's neighbours were selling off their stock in order to go with him in the spring.

CAP. XXI.

BISHOP CHALLONER IN THE CAUSE OF THE UIST CATHOLICS—BISHOP GRANT'S GRATITUDE—LETTER OF THANKS ALSO FROM ABBATE GRANT—AN ESTATE PURCHASED IN PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND—EFFORTS OF GLENALADALE—EMIGRANTS ACCOMPANIED BY A PRIEST—CLAN RANALD INSISTS ON TOLERATION—THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER INTERESTS HIMSELF AGAINST THE BOISDALE PERSECUTION—SO DOES THE POPE—BOISDALE FEARS THE MANY FRIENDS OF THE CATHOLICS—PERSECUTION AT AN END—THE UIST PEOPLE PROSPERING IN THEIR NEW HOME—GLENALADALE SELLS HIS ESTATE AND REPAIRS TO THE ISLAND—IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE HIGHLAND EMIGRATION—BISHOP HAY'S LITERARY LABOURS—DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF SEAFORTH A CATHOLIC—ALSO THE COUNTESS OF TRAQUAIR—CAUTION IN PUBLISHING—PERSECUTION OF THE PRESS—DR. CAMPBEL—DEFENCE BY BISHOP HAY—THE ALETHEIAN CLUB—DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND.

Bishop Challoner, not unmindful of the application that had been made to him, kindly interested himself in the cause of the Uist Catholics. He

desired to see the memorial that had been drawn up, fully stating their case, highly approved of it, had it printed at his own expense, and presented to the English Catholics, as well as to his own more particular friends. All sympathised with the persecuted people of the North. Collections were made at the chapels of the Catholic ambassadors in London, and a considerable sum of money thus raised, which facilitated the scheme of emigration. Hearing of this generosity, Bishop Grant wrote in reply to Bishop Hay, December 16th, 1771: "I am charmed with Bishop Challoner's amiable behaviour. I pray God to reward him for all his charity. You'll readily write to him about the beginning of the new year. I beg compliments to him in the most respectful and affectionate manner." Bishop Hay also requested the Abbate Grant, of Rome, to have a letter of thanks addressed to Bishop Challoner for his great zeal in the Uist affair. Glenaladale had purchased a large estate in St. John's (Prince Edward's) Island, to which he proposed to remove a numerous colony of Highland Catholics. In furtherance of his plan, he visited the Island of Uist along with Bishop John MacDonald. Matters were not so satisfactory there as he expected. Some of the families were so poor as not to be able to contribute as much as was hoped for towards the

expenses of emigration. Glenaladale was not to be baffled. He repaired to Edinburgh, and there, representing the state of things, he obtained £500 of the memorial money, the whole sum required being £1,500. He was now enabled to proceed; and 210 emigrants sailed in the ship he had got ready, for St. John's Island, 100 from Uist, the rest from the mainland. They were accompanied by the Reverend James Macdonald, a missionary priest, who held faculties from Rome until he should have them renewed by the Bishop of Quebec. Clan Ranald now interposed, and insisted that his cousin, Boisdale, should extend religious toleration to the people who remained. The Abbate Grant showed a translation of the memorial to the Holy Father, who brought it under the notice of the young Duke of Gloucester, at the time resident in Rome, with a view to secure his interference in behalf of the persecuted Highlanders, and to obtain for them liberty of conscience. The Prince generously promised to use his most vigorous endeavours to put a stop to Boisdale's cruelty. The Pope also charged the Nuncio at Paris, to call the attention of the British Ambassador to the same subject.

It was now manifest to all Highland landlords, and by proofs to which even Boisdale could not shut his eyes, that the Catholics had powerful friends at

a distance, and that it would not be quite safe to drive them to extremities by harsh and persecuting measures. Rev. Alex. MacDonald, the priest of Barra, bears witness, in a letter to Bishop Hay, which is well worth quoting, how completely religious persecution was put an end to in the Highlands, by means of the proceedings above related.

To Bishop Hay, September 25th, 1774.

* * * "Since our late terror and persecution, Boisdale is quite reformed, and is himself, to all appearance, the person who repents the most for his former doings. He grants his people a most unlimited toleration in religious teachers, welcomes our clergy always to his family, uses them with the utmost civility, and with the deference they are entitled to. His condescension is sometimes so great, that we are allowed to perform some of our functions within the precincts of his palace; for, to be serious, he has built such a genteel house as I never expected to see in the Long Island (Uist). This grand truth that God oftentimes permits evil in order to draw good from it, is in a glorious manner verified with regard to Boisdale's former unaccountable conduct; for, his anti-Christian attempts proving unsuccessful, notwithstanding his arts, interests and riches, has effectually deterred others, actuated by the like unscrupulous principles, from ever attempt-

ing the like undertaking. Protestants in general, live now in good harmony with us, and upon better terms than heretofore. They no longer look upon us as a set of execrable wretches, destitute of friends and the abomination of King and Government; so that the consequences of Boisdale's foolish attempt had, in the end, proved salutary and beneficial to religion, and are likely to continue to do so." * *

The emigrants arrived safely at St. John's after a fine passage of seven weeks. It was not long until they began to prosper in their new home. Bishop Hay, writing to Mr. Geddes, says: "The Uist people are doing extremely well in John's Island, coming fast on and living already much better than at home." Such accounts were encouraging, and were followed, in 1773, by a numerous emigration from Glengarry. The emigrants were 300 in number, and almost all Catholics, including the greater part of the country gentlemen. The noble-minded Glenaladale sold his estate in Scotland and went to share the fortunes of his fellow-countrymen whom he had so generously and successfully assisted in their emigration to St. John's Island. His departure from Scotland was much regretted by Bishop Hay and his other friends. "He is sacrificing," said the Bishop, "fortune and person for the good of those poor sufferers. But what a loss to us that he should leave us?"

It has just been remarked that evil is often permitted in order that good may result. This indeed, appears to be the way of Providence. "From partial evil oft educing good, and better on to better still, in infinite progression."

The scheme of emigration, promoted by a few benevolent individuals, not only put an end to a cruel persecution, and provided for, the comfort of the persecuted, but in addition to this, its first and noblest object, it contributed by introducing into British North America, an industrious and loyal population, to lay the foundations of that important colony, now known as *the Dominion of Canada*, and which, with its seven Provinces, extends from ocean to ocean. The emigration, moreover, which, at first, was considered as a hardship, and adopted only as a remedy for a greater evil, became the auspicious commencement of that Catholic christendom, which, of late years, has been blessed with such great developments in British North America.

A glance at Bishop Hay's literary and controversial labours will not prove uninteresting. The origin of his admirable Treatise on Miracles is best shown in a letter which he wrote to the Rev. William Reid, who had lately retired to Aberdeen, afflicted with asthma, February 21st, 1771. * * * "Now,

with regard to the controversial affair, you know I am engaged at present in writing upon Miracles and Transubstantiation, in consequence of Mr. Duguid's dispute with Mr. Abernethy. I am only on the former part, as yet, viz: on Miracles, and I have it much at heart, as the little study I have got made upon it has really been a great pleasure and of much use to myself. I could never have thought so many good and useful things could have been said upon that subject, as I see now may be done, and really am in earnest to get it finished. In consequence you will imagine I am well advanced. I'll tell you how far. It is done in the form of letters, and since my return from the North, last August, I have finished one letter which was begun before I went North, and have got another near fit for recopying. Judge you from this whether I have time for composing * * * * * Conversions, at this time, were becoming more frequent; and there were some in the higher and better educated classes. Lady Margaret Mackenzie, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Seaforth, was received into the Church at Easter of this year, 1771, and was confirmed by Bishop Hay on April 27th. The same year the Countess of Traquair was also reconciled to the Church. Such conversions were consoling, and gave proof that a better time had come. Nevertheless,

circumstances were not, as yet, all that could be desired. There was a great dearth of clergy, as mentioned at a meeting of the Bishops held this year at Scalan. As regarded publishing books for defence, or instruction, nothing could be done but with the greatest secrecy. Bishop Hay undertook to produce a new edition of that able piece of controversy, "The Protestant's Trial by the Written Word," but was obliged to proceed with the greatest caution. In addition to the printer's interest, which, so far, held him to secrecy, the precaution was taken of concealing from him the name of the editor, a third party, who was understood to have nothing to do with the editing, being employed to deal with the printer. Bishop Hay's opinion of the work is well worth recording. "The piece itself," he says in a letter to Bishop Grant, "in my humble opinion, is one of the most useful controversial works that can be put into the hands of your people, and quite fitted for this country."

About this time the more active persecution of the State having ceased, that of the press began. An accomplished writer, who had not hitherto been noted for bitter and low spoken attacks on the Church—Dr. George Campbel, Principal of Marschal College, Aberdeen, published a sermon which he had preached before the Synod of that city, in which he

departed from his usual polished style, and fell into an imitation of the most vulgar and weak attacks on the Catholic religion. His reputation as an author caused this unworthy publication to be widely circulated. Bishop Hay, on returning from a visit to Traquair, found it was the subject of general conversation, and it was pronounced by Protestants to be unanswerable and the death blow to "Popery." The consummate art with which it was written, and its insinuating tone were its only merits. As Bishop Hay declared, it was "a poor and pitiful affair." As such, the Bishop at first had no thought of replying to it. Somehow, notwithstanding, probably as a literary recreation, he began to note down, occasionally, answers to its remarks. These he showed to some of his friends, who strongly advised that he should give them to the public. Accordingly, he resolved on doing so, and towards the end of August, informed Bishop Grant of his purpose and that he had already placed his reply to Dr. Campbel in the hands of a learned Jesuit, the Provincial of the Scotch Jesuits, and the Rev. Mr. Cruikshanks, in order to have the benefit of their criticism. If he had their approval and the sanction of the senior Bishop, he would immediately publish his reply. He represented to the Bishop that there would be no risk in publishing, as the work was so framed as

to appear to be the production of a Protestant, and, besides, was written in the style of "The free examination into the causes of the growth of Popery."

All parties concerned approving, the reply was committed to the press, Bishop Hay answering for all expense and risk, relying on a favourable sale. By the end of September the printing was completed, and the little work appeared under the title of "Detection of the dangerous tendency, both for Christianity and Protestantism, of a sermon said to be preached before an assembly of Divines by George Campbel, D.D., on the spirit of the Gospel.—Ps. 1, 20, 21. By a member of the Aletheian Club, London; printed for the Aletheian Club and sold by J. P. Coghlan, etc."

The object of the said club was to search after religious truth without prejudice. In the introduction to the "detection," the club is supposed to say: "A sermon, lately published in North Britain, and said to be the production of the celebrated author of the "Dissertation on Miracles," fell into the hands of this society. Finding, on perusal, that it contained many things dangerous to true religion, and that the author had used the utmost efforts of art and all the eloquence he was master of, to gild the pill, and the more securely communicate the poison to his readers, they thought it an object worthy

of their attention to detect the dangerous tendency of this sermon, and undeceive the unwary readers, many of whom they had heard, in his native country, had received it with the highest esteem and approbation. The charge of doing this they committed to one of their members, Staurophilus, who was then residing at some distance from London, informing him, at the same time, of the reception the sermon had met with, and begging a speedy compliance with their request. His answer, in a letter to the club, is being presented to the public. The pressing desire of his friends for a speedy answer, hindered him from making a regular examination of the whole sermon. He has, therefore, confined himself to those parts which seemed most exceptionable in it and productive of the most dangerous consequences. Whatever opinion Dissenters may have of the sermon, it is not doubted but all true members of the Church of England, and all sincere and candid lovers of Truth, will be very well pleased to see the truths of Religion vindicated from the aspersions of so dangerous an enemy."

It does not appear that the author of the sermon published any reply to the "detection," although it was rumoured that he was preparing one. It was, however, attacked in the newspaper called the *Edinburgh Courant*. Dr. Abernethy Drummond, a

leading minister of the non juring party, whom it appears to have most offended, fought against it in this as well as in other newspapers of the time. The author of the "detection" failed not to meet the doughty champion, and it speaks well for the journalism of the time that it gave publicity to his remarks. It would seem that the authorship was not long kept a secret, for, it is on record that Dr. Abernethy Drummond conceived such an antipathy to the author, as in a few years later to raise against him and his fellow-Catholics a persecution, which, though of short duration, is spoken of as being no less violent than that which followed the disastrous expedition of Prince Charles.

CAP. XXII.

SCOTCH COLLEGE AT DOUAI—SCANDALOUS CONDUCT OF THE COLLEGE AUTHORITIES WHEN REMOVING TO DINANT—MR. GEDDES ON THE PIETY OF SPAIN—BISHOP HAY COMMENDS DR. BEATTIE'S ESSAY ON TRUTH AND REID ON THE HUMAN MIND—HE REPAIRS TO DOUAI—AT LONDON, ON HIS WAY, VISITS BISHOP CHALLONER—PLEADS WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF THE DUCHESS OF PERTH, WHO HAD BEEN LEFT DESTITUTE BY STATE CONFISCATION—VISITS ALBAN BUTLER AT ST. OMERS—THE PRINCIPAL OF DOUAI COLLEGE PROCEEDED AS FAR AS LISLE TO MEET THE BISHOP—SOME CHANGES MADE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COLLEGE—THE BISHOP AT PARIS SOUGHT TO OBTAIN A BENEFICE FOR THE SCOTCH MISSION—HIS FAILURE—HE PRAISES "PASTORINI"—PETITION THAT THE BISHOPS HAVE AUTHORITY OVER THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS, AS IN ENGLAND—MR. GEDDES' LIBERALITY TO THE MISSION—A BRIEF FROM THE HOLY SEE, GRANTING A PLENARY INDULGENCE TO THE CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND ON THE FESTIVAL OF S. S. PETER AND PAUL, ON THE USUAL CONDITIONS—BOOKS PURCHASED BY THE BISHOP IN FRANCE, DESTROYED ON HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND—SEVERE WEATHER AND DEARTH IN SCOTLAND, 1772—THE SAME YEAR MEETING OF THE BISHOPS—THEIR HIGH PRAISE OF BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD, WHO WAS UNABLE TO ATTEND.

Some account of the Scotch College of Douai in connection with the state of the Catholics of Scotland and the progress of the Scotch Mission will not now be out of place.

In the year 1576, Dr. James Cheyne, of Arnage, a Scotch secular priest, Pastor of Aboyne, and Canon of Tournay, Principal, also, of the University of Douai and Professor therein, founded a Seminary for Scotch secular clergy at Tournay. In this good work he employed the revenues of his canonry soon after the breaking up of the English and Scotch Colleges there, which took place in 1575. It was afterwards transferred to Port-a-Mousson in Lorraine. Dr. Cheyne's numerous avocations soon rendered it impossible for him to superintend the new seminary in person. Accordingly, in March, 1580, he entrusted the government of it to F. Edmund Hay, of Megginch, a Scotch Jesuit. It thus came under the management of the Scotch Fathers of the Society till F. G. Christie left it for the Scotch Mission in 1605, when it fell, for a time, into the possession of the Walloon Jesuits. The Scotch Fathers again obtained the government of it in 1632, and had it erected into a College by their Father General, and placed it under the superintendence of Father John Robb. After this it remained for the most part, in possession of the Scotch Fathers, although it was governed occasionally

for short periods by the Walloon Fathers of the society. There were other benefactors of the institution besides Dr. Cheyne; among the rest the illustrious Mary, Queen of Scotland, who settled on it an annual pension of 1,200 francs, raised soon after to 400 gold crowns; and Pope Gregory XIII. The annuities bestowed by these eminent personages ended with their lives. The seminary was not, however, left destitute. Many Scotch Catholic emigrants became contributors. Mr. Wm. Meldrum, Precentor of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, devoted 87 florins to the endowment of four bursaries. Pont-a-Mousson was not favoured with a salubrious climate, and, in consequence, early in the year 1593 the Seminary was removed to Douai. This was done with the sanction of Pope Clement VIII. It was not only on account of the unhealthiness of the place, but, also, in consequence of the confusion of the wars, that the college was removed from Pont-a-Mousson, as appears from a letter* of Clement VIII. in favour of the institution. The college was for some time at Louvaine, and also at Antwerp, where a House was prepared for it. But it was not till after several migrations and various fortune, that it was finally established at Douai, at that time a Belgian town, in the year 1612, in a house obtained for it by the Walloon

*A printed copy of this letter is preserved at Preshome.

Fathers. Philip III. of Spain was applied to for permission to purchase a site whereon to build a college. The desired permission was granted and, along with it, a donation towards the same object.

A few words may be now bestowed on the most liberal of all the benefactors of the College of Douai. This was no other than F. Hippolytus Curle, son of a well known historical character, Gilbert Curle, Secretary to Queen Mary Stewart. He had studied at Douai College, and at the end of his philosophical course in 1618 he entered the noviciate of the Society of Jesus. Before doing so, however, he disposed of all his temporal property by a testamentary deed, signed and sealed at Antwerp, Sept. 1, 1618. In this deed he declared his intention to join the Society ; and after specifying certain donations to members of his own family and others, he directed that the whole residue of his property should be given to the Scotch College of Douai, subjoining conditions which he desired should be exactly observed. The conditions were, the education of as many students as possible, and if anything should remain over the expense of a certain number, but not sufficient for the maintenance of another, this remainder should be devoted to the support of the persons necessary for the management of the college, and to meet the expenses of ecclesiastics who should be sent to Scotland as secular priests to

labour in the Scotch missions. It was also provided by Curle that there should always be a full number of good and suitable subjects. He also directed that the college should enjoy his endowment as long as it should be under the administration of the Society of Jesus, but that, if it should ever be put under other government by the resignation or removal of the Society's Fathers, the Father-General should be authorized to apply the whole of the endowment to the maintenance of the Scotch students who should be under the management of the Society. He desired, moreover, and earnestly requested that if the Father-General saw fit, there should always be one Scotch Jesuit in the college in which the said students were to reside. It was further stipulated that if the Catholic religion should ever be re-established in Scotland, the whole capital sum of Curle's endowment should be transferred to that country, at the discretion of the Father-General and the Scotch Fathers of the Society ; and a college for the maintenance of as many Scotch ecclesiastical students as possible should then be founded in the University of St. Andrews. The execution of this provision was entrusted to the Scotch Fathers of the Society. The endowment was to be only for students of philosophy and theology. Curle finally appointed that the deed should take effect when in two years, the usual time

of the noviciate, he should take the vows as a member of the Society. If he should die before that time, the deed should be executed in the month of July or December next following the date of his death.

In 1626, Curle, when a priest and religious of the Society of Jesus, made a second deed which gave more complete power to the Jesuits over the endowment. It could not, however, be valid, as the College had been for some time in possession of the Curle bequest on the conditions laid down in the first deed. In course of time, notwithstanding, the Jesuit Fathers came to consider the Scotch College at Douai was confiscated to the Crown as part of the Jesuits' goods. The French Government, when properly applied to, did not refuse to do an act of justice, and recognized the claims of the Scotch secular clergy to the property of their College at Douai. It was, accordingly, placed under the management of a Board of French civilians who allowed a certain number of Scotch ecclesiastical students to be maintained and educated in the college in charge of a Scotch president, whom they, indeed, appointed, but on the recommendation of the Scotch bishops,

It must now be told,—*horresco referens*—that the late professors of the College on retiring, with permission, to Dinant, in Namur, carried with them all the furniture of the house at Douai, and the richest

ornaments of the church, including a precious shrine, in which the head of St. Margaret had been enclosed. The shrine was removed and *the Relique was left behind!*

Robert Grant, brother of the agent at Rome, was the first president. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the position, he continued to hold office for a considerable time. It ought to have been a cause for rejoicing to all religious people that the college, after having come through so severe an ordeal, was once more devoted to the object for which it was founded. The pious Fathers from whom the property was taken when they originally possessed it, loudly complained, and freely abused the Scotch bishops for having made interest with the French Government to recover the College for their missions. Bishop Hay, in writing to the agent at Rome concerning matters that were to be laid before the Holy Father, and among the rest, the Society's attack on the Bishops, says: "What is mentioned both to His Holiness and Cardinal Castelli about reflections cast out by some here, upon the conduct of Bishops relating to Douai College, is owing entirely to the ungenerous behaviour of some of our friends of the Society. Notwithstanding all that we have endeavoured to do for their assistance, of late years, it would appear they can never digest the vexation it gave

them to see that house put into our hands. The most of them, indeed, say but little on the subject ; but some among them have put such odious constructions upon that affair among the people immediately under their charge, as to make the Bishops here appear guilty of the highest injustice to their order, and of having, by intriguing and underhand dealing, got that place turned over to themselves ; and Bishop Grant this very summer, in visiting some of these people, was reproached to his very face for having done so. You will easily see, my dear sir, how unjust such dealing is ; as you will know how far we were from intriguing in that affair, and how uprightly your worthy brother acted with regard to these gentlemen in it. You will also see how unjustifiable their conduct is, in showing a greater willingness to have that house lost entirely to the nation than to be put into our hands. How strange a blindness ! How unaccountable a prejudice ! You will likewise see how fatal a tendency their behaviour must have in prejudicing the minds of the people against their chief pastor and how just our request is to have our conduct vindicated by the authority of the Holy See, in order thereby to confound such as may still gainsay, and to put a stop to evils that might otherwise ensue...."

Mr. Robert Grant, the principal of the newly-

restored college, is no less severe on the ungracious conduct of the pious society. In a letter to Bishop Hay of July 6th, 1772, he says : " I duly received your last with remarks on Curle's Testament, which are both just and solid ; and will pass for such with every unprejudiced person. If they (the Religious Fathers) have any monuments,—I mean originals,—clearer on their side, let them publish them. But, I am pretty sure they have not ; neither is it possible they should, without supposing F. Curle to talk nonsense in his said Testament. Nay, their having carried off all the other original papers regarding the foundation of this House, without leaving any authentic copies, is a strong presumption against them. It is more than necessary that these remarks should be published in order to undeceive those who look upon us as unjustly possessing what we have no title to. The common conversation among their debates is that we are sacrilegious robbers, etc. ; and how these good gentlemen can connive at such injurious aspersions, is astonishing beyond measure. . . . " It *is* astonishing.

About this time it was proposed, Bishop Grant concurring, that Bishop Hay should visit Douai in order to make a personal examination of the affairs of the college. He found it necessary, however, in consequence of certain political occurrences, to post-

pone his journey. Meanwhile, he had the pleasure to receive very gratifying intelligence from the College of Valladolid. His friend there, the accomplished principal, wrote to him, under date Nov. 18, 1771, as follows :

.....“ Say everything that is kind to Mr. Craw (a gentleman already mentioned, remarkable for his piety.) I reverence that worthy gentleman as I would do a Father of the desert, and I have great confidence in his prayers. Tell him for me, and I know it will give him satisfaction, that however depraved the world is become, there still remains a great deal of true piety in Spain ; and that, not only in the convents and monasteries, but, even in the palaces and judgment seats. There are some most excellent secular gentlemen in this same city ; among the rest, the comptroller general of the Royal Revenues of Old Castile is just such a man as Mr. Craw, himself, or Dr. Gordon of Tullochallum....”

Dr. Gordon, here mentioned as an ornament of the Catholic Church along with Mr. Craw, was a brother of Bishop Gordon. He had taken part on the losing side in 1745, and so had to keep out of sight for some time. He owned a small property on Dee-side ; but in his latter years lived retired in Auchendown, and died there at an advanced age, in 1763.

Bishop Hay could welcome a good book, although it came from a Protestant. Writing to Principal Geddes, he recommends highly Dr. Beattie's essay "on the immortality of Truth," and Reid's "Enquiry into the human mind." Both these works he considered likely to be useful.

At length the Bishop was able to undertake his contemplated journey to the College of Douai. On reaching London, he paid a visit to Bishop Challoner, whom he had not seen for twenty years, and who had now attained the advanced age of eighty. He gave his old friend, the Scotch Bishop, a most cordial reception, and availed himself of his visit to place in his hands what he had collected for the persecuted people of Uist, and at the same time a sum of money entrusted to him for Bishop Hay's own use. Next day he was favoured with a visit from Father Cruikshanks, S. J., who promised to give him all the information in his power concerning the affairs of his brethren as regarded the Scotch College at Douai. While in London, Bishop Hay made interest with the Government in order to obtain some pecuniary aid for the Duchess of Perth, whose husband's property had been all confiscated by the State. The march to Derby was still remembered; and it was made a pretext for denying all aid to the destitute lady that she had resumed without permission the

title of Duchess. Before leaving London, the Bishop saw Lord Witherington, who promised to subscribe for the relief of the Uist people. On his way from London to Douai, the Bishop visited the celebrated Alban Butler at St. Omers, and met with a most kind reception. Mr. Robert Grant, the Principal of the Scotch College of Douai, went as far as Lisle to meet him and accompanied him to Douai. Having proposed some changes in the constitution of the college he proceeded to Paris, together with Principal Grant. His object in visiting that city was to obtain from the French Government a benefice in France for the benefit of the Scotch mission. This suit was supported by the Bishop of Arras throughout, and at first by several other influential personages. But, for want of sufficient honourable influence, the Bishop declining to employ such as was unbecoming, the scheme which he had so much at heart finally failed.

We shall now have Bishop Hay's opinion of a work that became famous—Pastorini's Letters. Writing to Principal Geddes at Valladolid, the Bishop says; "There is a very curious piece published in London, by B. Walmesley, whom you may remember at Rome, of the order of St. Benedict, and came there to be consecrated in our time. It is a general history of the Church by way of commen-

tary on the Apocalypse. It is thought this work will be a greater stroke to the Protestants than either Cardinal Pole, or, "The Free examination." Several copies of this work were sent to Edinburgh by Bishop Hay's orders, for his friends in Scotland.

About this time authority over the Religious Orders was given to the Bishops in England. Bishop Hay was anxious that the like authority should be conferred on the Scotch Bishops. This measure had become necessary for the maintenance of discipline and the normal condition of the Church, Benedict the XIV., therefore, was earnestly petitioned through the Abbate Grant, to extend to Scotland the benefit of the decree with which he had favoured England. Bishop Hay, writing to the agent on the subject, says: "I assure you there are more than one of the society of whose conduct I have got complaints from his own hearers; and yet, for want of some such backing, Bishop Grant will not, and I dare not speak to them. I could give you some instances that would surprise you." The Bishop concludes his letter by desiring his thanks to the Italians for the handsome sum which they had contributed towards the relief of the Uist people.

The benevolent Principal of the College of Valladolid, sent at this time, to Edinburgh, in his own name and that of his two companions, £39.12, the

result of their savings, for the benefit of the Scotch mission. Bishop Hay wrote from Paris to thank him, under date of March 17th, 1772: "In my own name and on the part of all our brethren, I return you and your companions hearty thanks for your supply; and I bless God Almighty, who, having given you the means, has given you the heart also to make so proper a use of it. * * Having sacrificed our persons to the service of religion in our poor country, how inconsistent would it be to refuse to part with the pelf of this world for the same end? For my own part, I thank God I have nothing so much at heart as the common cause, and shall think myself happy to sacrifice everything that is near and dear to me in this world; but, it is superfluous to mention this to you, who know me so well already." * * *

Bishop Hay returned to Edinburgh after an absence of eleven weeks, in better health than he had enjoyed for many years. Being so blessed, he renewed his missionary labours with extraordinary vigour. This same year, a Brief was obtained from the Holy See, granting a plenary indulgence to the Catholics of Scotland, on the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul, to be gained any day within the octave, on performance of the usual conditions.

As illustrative of the narrow spirit which still reigned in England, it may be mentioned that books

to the value of £10, which Bishop Hay had purchased at Paris, were seized on his arrival and *destroyed*. There is certainly a very close relation between bigotry and vandalism.

There was unusually severe weather in Scotland from the beginning of the year 1772. "Such frost and snow," says Bishop Hay, in a letter to Principal Geddes, "have not been seen in the memory of man—no, not even in 1740. This hard weather and the consequent dearth added considerably to the miseries of the poorer people. The Bishop states that, in addition, there was great sickness and mortality about Stobhall, in Glengarry and Strathspey.

This year the general meeting included all the Bishops, with the exception of Bishop Hugh McDonald, who was now so feeble from old age as to be unable to undertake a long journey. His colleagues in their annual letter to the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Castelli, of date July 18th, speak of the venerable Bishop in the following kindly terms: "Hugh of Diana, now worn out by old age, and the labours of forty years, during which he has discharged the duties of vicar apostolic, has failed in strength this year, so much as to be unable to be with us here; and it seems, indeed, hardly possible that his life can be protracted much longer. He is a man who has merited very highly of religion; and by

his toils, his vigilance, his concern for the common cause ; by his gentleness and the sweetness of his manners ; and by his assiduity in the preservation of fraternal charity, in the administration of the mission affairs, he has always endeared himself to every one.".....

CAP. XXIII.

SICKNESS AND MR. AUSTIN M'DONALD—A SUBSIDY—TWO STUDENTS TO BE RECEIVED AT PROPAGANDA—MR. CAMERON IN STRATHAVON—BISHOP GRANT IN BETTER HEALTH—AT A VISITATION, SAYS MASS AT 3 O'CLOCK P.M.—GENERAL DISTRESS—STRAITS OF THE MISSION—BISHOP HAY'S SISTER BECOMES A CATHOLIC—CONVERSIONS FROM TIME TO TIME—DEATH OF BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD—THE MISSION LOSES ITS TEN JESUITS BY THE GENERAL SUPPRESSION OF THE ORDER—BISHOP HAY ON USURY—FEW CLERGY AND GREAT LABOURS—MR. CRAW'S LIBERAL BEQUEST, 1775—BISHOP HAY ON MIRACLES—HIS CONTROVERSY WITH DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND—THE WORK ON MIRACLES HIGHLY PRAISED BY BISHOP CHALLONER AND OTHERS--CONVERSIONS--GREATER LIBERALITY OF EDINBURGH MAGISTRATES—SOME CHANGES.

About this time Bishop Hay, in a letter to Principal Geddes, communicated to him the thanks of the Bishops for the pecuniary aid given and promised by himself and his companions to the funds of the mission. In the same letter the Bishop mentioned the mortality which had lately prevailed in some

parts of the country and spoke of a pious missionary priest, Mr. Austin Macdonald, who, on the dreaded sickness appearing in his locality, had exhorted his people to prayer and fasting, as a means of averting the threatened calamity, and had prescribed certain prayers to be said, and set apart two days for fasting. After that none of his people died but one, who had been very ill before. "He is a truly valuable missionary," adds the Bishop, "and minds nothing in this world—neither brothers nor sisters, nor any earthly affair—but his duties to his people only. I wish we had numbers such!"

The goodness of Cardinal Castelli made up in some measure for the failure of Bishop Hay's recent visit to Paris in order to obtain a benefice for the poor missions of Scotland. The Cardinal procured a subsidy for the missions, and in remitting it informed the bishops that two places in the Urban College of Propaganda had been assigned to Scotch students, between the ages of twelve and eighteen years.

We now hear for the first time of Mr. Cameron, afterwards so distinguished as a bishop. On returning from his studies, he was appointed to the mission of Strathavon on account of his knowledge of the Gaelic language. He soon acquired reputation as a preacher and was in great favour with Bishop Grant.

Bishop Grant was at this time in such good health as to be able to continue the visitation of the northern parts of his Vicariate. We learn on his authority, that he was very much edified with the willingness and earnestness of the good people in coming to be confirmed, some travelling six or seven, and one in particular, no less than sixteen miles. At one place it was full three o'clock in the afternoon before he was ready to commence the public duties of the day. Nevertheless, by a presumed permission from the Holy See, he even ventured, and without scruple, to celebrate Mass.

This year, 1772, the mission was poorly supplied with clergy, but not without hope for the future, there being numerous ecclesiastical students in the colleges abroad. There was great distress throughout the country in consequence of the frequent bankruptcies that were occurring. Money was not to be had at any rate; families of good standing were diminishing the number of their servants: trade of every kind was at a stand, and trades' people, consequently, parting with their workmen. Such a state of things greatly increased the number of poor, and worse than all, filled both countries, England as well as Scotland, with robbers. Bishop Hay complained, as Procurator, that the mission suffered at the same time in its funds, and the building of a new and

better church at Aberdeen added to its difficulties. Such was the distress in the best agricultural districts, such as Strathbogie, Auchendown and the Enzie, that many families resolved on emigrating to America, as long as any means remained to them.

About the end of February, 1773, Bishop Grant and his coadjutor addressed a memorial to the agent at Rome, Abbate Grant, representing the great straits of the mission, and requesting, provided he could obtain the sanction of Cardinals Castelli and Albani, that he would endeavour to interest in its favour all who at Rome might be friendly or charitably disposed towards the mission. They took care to urge that the field for missionary effort was improving, as shewn by the building of a better church at Aberdeen, whilst this undertaking, together with the hardship of the time, increased their pecuniary needs.

There were conversions from time to time ; among the rest, that of Miss Hay, the Bishop's sister, which took place at Auchentoul. Bishop Grant, congratulating the junior Bishop on this happy occurrence, expresses, at the same time, his wish that he would visit the North, spend a few weeks in Strathbogie and Cabrach, encourage the people by his presence and learn, at the same time, everything concerning their wants and condition. Complaints the chief Bishop had heard from Buchan rendered it desirable

that his coadjutor should travel through that district.

The Lowland Bishops were now deeply affected on hearing of the death of the venerable Bishop Hugh Macdonald at Glengarry. The sad intelligence was communicated to them in a letter from his nephew, Bishop John MacDonald, dated March 18th, at Bourblach, on the west coast of Inverness-shire. The deceased Bishop was able to converse with the friends around him till within a few minutes of his death.

Bishop Hay at this time was oppressed with labour and anxiety. He ardently desired the assistance of his able friend, Mr. Geddes, the Principal at Valladolid, and had some correspondence with him on the subject. His cares were increased by the impending suppression of the Society of Jesus. The members of the Order, although only ten in number, formed a considerable and important portion of the diminished clergy of Scotland. The mission could ill afford to lose their services, which, hitherto, had been so efficient. The Scotch College at Rome was under their able direction. It could be so no longer. Abbate Grant, so long agent for the mission at Rome, offered himself for the rectorship, and was accepted by the Bishops. The college, meanwhile, was otherwise provided for by the authorities at Rome.

A discussion on usury having arisen, Bishop Hay took up his pen, and in seven masterly letters, successfully showed that usury must be condemned, whilst a reasonable rate of interest on loans is perfectly lawful. In trading nations, particularly, such as Great Britain, the practice of lending money at interest may be considered an almost essential element of commercial success. The seven letters were published in London by Mr. Coghlan, under the title: "*Letters on usury and interest; showing the advantage of Loans for the support of Trade and Commerce.*"

The Scotch College of Douai appears to have been, at this time, 1774, in a tolerably prosperous condition. There were within its walls, besides Mr. Robert Grant, the principal, and his assistant, twenty-two individuals. Three of these were ex-Jesuits, still young men. One of them was Mr. John Chisholm, afterwards Bishop of the Highland district, who went this year from Dinant to Douai, in order to prepare for serving on the Scotch Mission. Æneas Chisholm, John's brother, who also became a Bishop, was received a student at the Scotch College of Valladolid.

The missions were now suffering from want of sufficient spiritual superintendence. Age and infirmity had incapacitated so many of the clergy that only five or six priests in the Lowland district were fit for duty. Bishop Grant himself, now almost

seventy years of age, was very infirm. In addition, notwithstanding, to his duties as Chief Bishop, he managed also to discharge those of a Parish Priest. Bishop Hay was younger, but of a weak constitution. He, nevertheless, did double duty, attending, as coadjutor Bishop, to the affairs of the whole mission and ministering to a numerous congregation.

The Bishops for some time experienced many of the difficulties that arise from the want of money. This unpleasant state of things was so far modified by the liberal bequest of Bishop Hay's wealthy and most pious friend, Mr. Craw, who passed, 1775, to the future life, at the advanced age of 91.

In June, 1775, Bishop Hay's famous Treatise on Miracles was placed in the printer's hands. This work originated in a controversy which arose between the author and a non juring Episcopalian minister who was afterwards known as the celebrated Bishop Abernethy Drummond. At the end of the second volume, there is an appendix on the subject of Transubstantiation. This shorter essay was occasioned by the following circumstances. A master baker and a master shoemaker thought of enquiring into the truth of the Catholic religion. They were both Episcopilians and members of Mr. Abernethy's congregation. For better information they sought the acquaintance of Bishop Hay, who gave them all

necessary explanations. The minister was now had recourse to; and he promptly made out in writing answers to the Bishop's remarks. The point chiefly discussed was Transubstantiation. Mr. Abernethy wrote at great length on the Catholic Doctrine, urging the usual weak objections against it. The young man laid his writing before the Bishop, who made a suitable reply. This was not all. The non-juring minister called on Bishop Hay and challenged him to publish in print all he had to say on the Catholic Doctrine, promising to prepare and publish a reply. This led to Bishop Hay's "Appendix," in which he explains the doctrine itself and exposes the weakness of Mr. Abernethy's arguments against it. This writing caused our enquirers to come to a decision. They left the non-jurors, and became "sincere and promising converts to the Catholic Church." The Protestant pastor was enraged at this conclusion, and, very little to the credit of a professed minister of the gospel, threatened the good men with ruin and misery before the end of the year. He then turned to his theology, such as it was, and got ready his reply. The non-juring Bishop easily favoured it with his approval. Another friend of the author, who was more familiar with philosophical discussions, pronounced it indefensible. Accordingly, it was remodeled; but failed to be made unanswerable. In January, 1776, Bishop

Hay issued a suitable reply under the title "Explanatory Remarks, etc." There is a copy of this able paper at St. Mary's College, Blairs, 12mo. pp. 96. It was followed by an anonymous reply, which was so weak and devoid of anything like argument, containing only the usual oft-refuted stories, that the Bishop took no notice of it and allowed the controversy to drop.

The work on Miracles had a successful sale. Bishop Challoner showed his appreciation by ordering thirty copies. It was greatly valued in Spain, among the friends of Mr. Geddes, at Madrid and Valladolid. Several copies were sent to Rome, and an elegantly bound volume presented to the Pope. The evil days, so trying to the Catholics of Scotland, appeared to be now passing away; and conversions becoming more frequent. "We have the consolation," says Bishop Hay, writing to Mr. J. Geddes, January 3rd, 1776, "of several converts just now. Our loss is want of time to attend to them properly."

It has been remarked, and evidently by a well informed Catholic, that the "Scripture Doctrine of Miracles" must be regarded as Bishop Hay's greatest work. It may justly be said to exhaust the subject, with a depth and a closeness of reasoning, and a familiar acquaintance with the written Word of God unsurpassed by any other Catholic writer in the

English language. It may, perhaps, be permitted us to regret that the style is wanting in those attractive graces which recommend even abstruse subjects to the attention of ordinary readers, a want which Dr. Hay with singular modesty acknowledges in his preface. In consequence of this deficiency his work on Miracles has never attained the popularity of some of his other writings; its circulation for the most part, having been confined to the use of students in theology. All this notwithstanding new editions of the able work are, in our day, published from time to time.

Protestants, whilst acknowledging its consummate ability, pronounce it "*a dangerous* book in which (Scot's Mag.) truth is artfully mixed up with falsehood, and sophistry with argument." The same writer admits, however, that "the plan is happily conducted, the topics judiciously and artfully disposed, and the reasoning throughout invincible, specious and dangerous." (Scot's Mag., 1776.)

It may be mentioned here, as a circumstance indicating the improving spirit of the time, that the magistrates of Edinburgh afforded Bishop Hay every facility in attending two Irish soldiers who were sentenced to be executed for a street robbery in the city. These unfortunate men were very penitent and resigned to their fate.

The clergy of the mission were recruited occasionally from the colleges abroad. Thus we find the Rev. Mr. Gordon, who had been stationed at Aberdeen since his recent return from Rome, on being appointed to Rev. Allen McDonald's vacant Prefecture at Valladolid, was replaced by Rev. Mr. Oliver, a young missionary priest, who had studied at Douai. About the same time Rev. Robert Menzies returned from the college there, and entered on a course of unobtrusive usefulness at Edinburgh.

CAP. XXIV.

MORE FRIENDLY FEELING TOWARDS CATHOLICS—NEW ARRANGEMENT AT STOBHALL—HIGHLANDERS FLOCKING TO THE LOWLANDS—A BETTER CHURCH AND HOUSE AT EDINBURGH—BISHOP HAY'S THEOLOGICAL STUDIES—DISPENSATIONS—MR. CONSTABLE GIVES £100 TOWARDS THE NEW BUILDINGS.—CONVERSIONS—POOR HEALTH OF BISHOP HAY—GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE—THE AGE IMPROVING CRUEL INJUSTICE OF THE PENAL LAWS—THE MISSION SUFFERS—THE KIRK LESS HOSTILE—SOME BIGOTS PROPOSE TO RESIST THE PASSING OF A RELIEF BILL—PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON ADVOCATES AN OPPOSITE VIEW—MAJORITY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN HIS FAVOUR, 118 TO 24.

Everything seemed to show that the age was improving and a more friendly feeling towards Catholics arising throughout the country. The titular "Duchess of Perth" having died at Stobhall in Perthshire, it was feared that the mission there, so long one of the most important in the country, must necessarily be abandoned. There was only one Catholic tenant on the estate in whose house a priest could have a suitable lodging. This man, despairing of the continu-

ance of the mission, hastily threw up his lease on the death of the duchess, in order that he might establish his home near some Catholic station. Now came the advantage of living in the midst of the world, without being of the world, worldly. Such was the case as regarded our Bishop, who resembled in this respect the celebrated Bossuet, of whom it was truly said that he was a Bishop in the gay Court of France (*un Eveque au milieu de la cour*). Mingling in the higher world, while not neglecting the poorer and more humble, Bishop Hay had become acquainted with Lord Kames, who may surely here be mentioned, as one of the celebrities of the time. Lord Kames was one of the commissioners charged with the administration of the forfeited lands. Bishop Hay, therefore, applied to him for a renewal of the lease of the farm from which the tenant, John Cruikshanks, had retired, and that it should be renewed in the name of Cruikshanks. He acknowledged, at the same time, that his object was to secure the residence of a priest in the place. Both Lord and Lady Kames, particularly the latter, entered warmly into the scheme; and, through the friendly services of Mr. Colquhoun Grant, obtained the co-operation of Lord Gardenston, another commissioner. By the advice of these friendly

parties the bishop drew up a petition in the name of the retired tenant, and presented it to the commission. The land steward, who had already granted a new lease, brought considerable county influence to bear against a Catholic being established in the place. This led to memorials and replies that were presented to the commissioners. At last, after a year's delay, Lord and Lady Kames, knowing how friendly the Government now were towards the Catholics, pleaded the cause more zealously with several of the principal commissioners, and thus secured a decision in favour of the Bishop. Not only was the old lease renewed in the Bishop's favour, in the name of the former tenant, but fifteen acres more, which had been under planting, were added to the farm in order to supply summer grass for the Bishop's horse. He was also supplied with a quantity of timber for putting the farm buildings in a suitable condition. A rather odd scene occurred at the board of commissioners when its final decision was intimated. It will be best told in Bishop Hay's own words: "After the order was given to let us have the place, one of our friends added, 'they must also have plenty of wood to build a mass house,' upon which some of the others expressed surprise. To which one replied: 'They are better subjects than the Presbyterians;'" and

another said, 'as for the best religion, that will not be known till the day of judgment.' So orders were given to see what wood will be wanted, and let us have it. This, you will say, is a changed world. It is so, blessed be God for it, and may we be grateful for so great a mercy. It is true, indeed, it will cost me a great deal of money to get the place put into proper order, but I hope Providence will provide, and when all is to rights, it will be as comfortable a settlement as any we have." * * *

The war with the American colonies put an end to emigration; and hence the Highland proprietors were encouraged to renew their oppression of their poor tenants. This led to a change in the distribution of the Catholic population all over the country. There being no field for the distressed people in America (Canada with its boundless resources, was, at that time, a *terra incognita*) flocked in great numbers to the towns of the Lowlands, where they found employment as day labourers and street porters. The Catholic population of those towns was thus considerably increased. In Edinburgh alone, there was an increase of four hundred, as shown by a census of his congregation taken by Bishop Hay in February, 1777. Almost all the newly arrived strangers were ignorant of any language except their native Gaelic. They were, at once, however, pro-

vided with a pastor who was thoroughly acquainted with their language. This was the Rev. Robert Menzies, already mentioned as having recently returned from Douai College. This zealous young priest continued for a long time to exercise, with the greatest good will, his psstoral duties among the Gaelic speaking people. The increase of population required an increase of church accommodation. There was need, besides, of a change to more salubrious as well as more commodious premises. This the chief Bishop well understood; and he was only too glad to find that there was a prospect of being able to remove from the confined and unwholesome residence, which the coadjutor Bishop and clergy had been obliged so long to put up with. It was proposed, therefore, to sell the ancient dwelling, and so far meet the expense of purchasing or erecting a better building in a more healthy locality. A site near Leith Wynd was selected. It consisted of half an acre of ground which was enclosed by a solid wall. There was a ruinous house upon it which was not overlooked by any other houses. It was a free and airy place, and had access to the neighbouring street by three 'closes,' or lanes. It had been the residence of a Lord Edgefield, a judge of the highest court. The purchase money was £320, all charges included. It was estimated that the expense

of demolishing the old building and erecting a new church and dwelling house would amount to £1,100. Considering the state of the mission funds, this was a heavy sum. The Bishops, however, were not discouraged. With the new building at Edinburgh and the arrangements at Stobhall, both at the same time, on their hands, they were obliged to have recourse to their friends at a distance. The English Catholics always so generous, could not with propriety be applied to, as they had recently been so liberal in relieving the persecuted Uist people. Bishop Hay, therefore, addressed only, on behalf of his brethren, his and their friends at Valladolid, Rome, France, etc., and not without success, it would appear ; for the works in hand were proceeded with. The Abbot of the Scotch Monastery at Ratisbon, alone, declined to interest his friends in favour of the mission work, and contented himself with sending to the Bishops a personal subscription of £10.

In the midst of his overwhelming missionary labours as well as other occupations and correspondence forced upon him by the necessity he felt himself under of ministering to the comfort and encouragement of many parties who looked to him for advice and support in their difficulties and mental distress, Bishop Hay was not unmindful of the studies proper to his state. We find him, at this time, applying to

Abbate Grant for several theological works, the Functions of a Bishop, a book on Canon Law, etc. He had just finished reading Benedict XIV.'s Treatise on Diocesan Synods (*de Synodo Diocesana*). The works for which he now applied are recommended in that treatise. He enquired also for some standard work on Episcopal Visitations, especially on their practical part. "Alas! my dear sir," he says with great modesty; writing to the agent, "I always felt myself lame and unfit for the weighty charge laid upon me: but, never did I see that more than when perusing the Diocesan Synod. Much need have I of a store of standard books for study on these subjects and of a little more time to peruse them."

Meanwhile the good agent was not idle as regarded the Mission for which he acted. Dispensation from hearing Mass and abstaining from servile work on certain holidays, had been granted to the Catholics of England. Abbate Grant obtained from the Holy See a like indulgence for Scotland. The twofold obligation was declared binding only on all Sundays in the year, on Easter Monday and Pentecost Monday; on the festivals of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension and Corpus Christi; on the Annunciation and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; on the festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul, of All

Saints and of the patron of the place where that festival was observed. The fast enjoined on the vigils of certain festivals was transferred to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent. Power was also granted to dispense further with the obligation on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul if it fall in the hay harvest, and of the Assumption in the corn harvest.

A master builder had undertaken to complete the house and church at Edinburgh. By the month of May, 1778, the work was well advanced. The weather was favourable for such operations, and everything promised well, even the funds, although they arrived but slowly. Mr. Constable, on occasion of a visit to Edinburgh, contributed £100, and such was his interest in the work that while finding the proportions of the church too limited he expressed complete satisfaction with the rest of the building. The church was to be only 34 feet long, 29 broad and 14 feet high. This work, together with the operations at Stobhall and the increase of the number of Catholics in the Lowlands, aroused the attention and, in some degree, the jealousy of Protestants. There even arose some opposition to the building at Edinburgh. The Bishop, however, anticipating hostility, had taken care to secure the approbation of two leading members of Government,

who were, indeed, powerful friends. Notwithstanding, he was not without anxiety, and, as he declared, placed his hope "in Him whose work it was." There was abundance of consolation, meanwhile, in the number of converts he was instructing and receiving into the Church.

Bishop Hay was in poor health, suffering much from indigestion. Nevertheless, in addition to his episcopal labours, he attended assiduously to parochial duties and the no less arduous cares of the Procuratorship. Bishop Grant advised him strongly against his early rising and constant application, but did not manage, no doubt owing to the scarcity of clergy, to send an experienced priest to assist him.

Since the unfortunate affair of 1745, time had wrought a wonderful change in the sentiments of the Scotch people. The Jacobite insurrection and its sad results had generated the most rancorous feelings in the minds of the victorious party. It appeared at one time impossible that they could ever be sufficiently revenged for the defeats and humiliation inflicted on them by those whom they finally overcame. As the hopes of the vanquished side became daily less and less, and were finally extinguished, the supporters of the lost cause, who were never unpatriotic, began to show that they could devote their services to their country's welfare, although not

under such auspices as would have been most pleasing to them. Many even who had been zealous adherents of the exiled house, became loyal to the existing government, and by their able services in the common cause of the country commanded the esteem and good will of their fellow-countrymen as well as of the rulers of the land. Meanwhile, through the various relations of private life, friendships came to be established, and good feeling generally to prevail. Add to this the progress of the age which began to look with horror on the barbarities of by-gone times, and to feel ashamed of the cruelties which were not yet so remote as not to belong to their own. Hence it may be said that now, and it was time after a lapse of nearly forty years, that the general desire was for peace and reconciliation. The odious penal laws, however, still existed, and although seldom enforced, could be so at any moment; and it must be admitted that whether acted on or not, they were as degrading to those against whom they were aimed, as disgraceful to those by whom they were enacted. These laws were of such a nature as that sometimes the temptation to use them was almost irresistible. Thus, not longer ago than 1777, a Catholic gentleman of Scotland died. His son, who was married and had two children, thought to obtain possession of the paternal

estate on performing the usual legal formalities. He was resisted by a distant relative, who claimed as the nearest Protestant heir, carried his case into the Court of Session, and insisted that the other party should renounce Popery in order to acquire a legal qualification to succeed his father. It was pleaded on the other side, that the statute gave such succession only to the nearest Protestant heir. This plea was overruled, and the unfortunate young man was, as Bishop Hay relates, "reduced to the dreadful necessity of openly perjuring himself in the face of the world, or of losing an estate of £1,000 a year, as well as of seeing his wife and two infant children reduced to beggary, as he had not a single farthing to depend upon besides the estate, nor any means of acquiring a subsistence."

In 1768, a case occurred in which the mission was the losing party. A gentleman of landed property had borrowed from the capital fund of the Scotch mission a considerable sum of money, for which the administrators of that fund held a mortgage, or heritable security over his estate. The gentleman failed; and when the managers advanced their claim, it was opposed by the other creditors on the ground that such a security could not be legally vested in a Catholic clergyman. The opinion of four eminent lawyers was taken; and it was in favour of the Catholic

claim. Nevertheless, it was thought better, in order to avoid publicity and the dangers arising from it, to waive legal proceedings and settle the matter in private. This was done at a sacrifice of nearly £300, a heavy loss to the mission at that time of day.

It must be admitted that the ministers of the Kirk had become less hostile than in the earlier days. Only in remote districts did extreme bigotry still prevail. A respectable tenant of Lord Fortrose, at whose house the missionary priest had his lodging when he went to visit his scattered flock in Rosshire, became an object of their virulent attacks. Marriage with Protestants and conversions to the Catholic faith had excited the ill-will of the Presbytery against this good farmer. They not only made vigorous efforts to turn him out of his farm, but frequently, also, lodged complaints against him with the law officers of the Crown in Edinburgh. This would have resulted in a criminal prosecution, which was averted only by the timely interposition of Bishop Hay.

A little later, when the partial repeal of the penal laws was in progress, there arose a serious debate in the general assembly, the result of which shows the ministers in a more favourable light. An over zealous member requested the Lord Advocate to give the assembly some account of the bill that was then

passing through Parliament in favour of the Roman Catholics. His Lordship complied with the request, but, at the same time, maintained that the object of the bill was only to repeal a penal law which, from the beginning, had been considered so cruel as to have been seldom executed. The bill did not extend to Scotland; but he had no doubt that in some future session of Parliament a similar bill would be passed for that country. This information roused the bigoted party in the assembly; and, next day, Dr. Gillies, a minister at Glasgow, moved that, as such a bill for the relief of the Catholics of England had lately passed the House of Commons, the commission (the permanent committee of the assembly) be instructed to watch its future progress; and especially if it should be extended to Scotland; and even, if necessary, to call an extraordinary meeting of the commission to consider the subject. The motion was seconded by the same minister's son, who was minister of Greenock. There was now a very long debate. Principal Robertson, so celebrated as a man of letters and a historian, who led the moderate party in the assembly, denied that the bill in question threatened the Protestant religion with any danger; he could see no signs of alarm in the country on the subject. He then entered at length into the history of the penal

law, now the subject of repeal, showing that it was a cruel and sanguinary law which nothing but the critical circumstances of the period when it was first enacted, could ever justify. He proposed to reject the motion. Other eminent speakers followed on the side of the principal, Mr. Solicitor-General Murray, especially, who spoke for two hours in 'favour' of the bill in an able and masterly manner. On a division, the motion of Dr. Gillies was rejected by a majority of 118 to 24.

CAP. XXV.

PERSECUTION OF SOLDIERS BY SOME HARD-HEARTED
AND IGNORANT MINISTERS—PROTECTED BY THE
LORD JUSTICE CLERK AND THE LORD ADVOCATE
—SOLDIERS ALLOWED TO OMIT THE OBJECTION-
ABLE CLAUSE IN THE ATTESTATION OATH—ARMY
MEN SEEK A REPEAL OF THE ODIUS LAWS—
GENERALS BOURGOYNE AND CONWAY—THE WAR
WITH AMERICA AND AN IMPENDING WAR WITH
FRANCE FAVOUR THEIR VIEWS—SIR. JOHN DALRYM-
PLE—LOYALTY OF CATHOLICS—IMPORTANT NEG-
TIATIONS—ADDRESSES OF CATHOLICS GRACIOUSLY
RECEIVED BY GEORGE III.—A RELIEF MEASURE
BEFORE PARLIAMENT—SUPPORTED BY THE OPPOSI-
TION—THE DISSENTING PROTESTANTS GIVE THEIR
AID.

At this time the loyalty of Catholic soldiers and their bravery in the field was nothing new to the British public. These great qualities, however, met with but little consideration on the part of the more dark and bigoted portion of the Presbyterian world. Two Highland battalions of British troops, composed in great part of Catholics, both officers and privates, had served in the war which led to the cession of

Canada to Great Britain. On leaving the service, these brave veterans were allowed a pension, sufficient for their comfortable maintenance. They retired to their mountain homes ; and generally their being Catholics was not considered as an objection to the regular payment of their pensions. In some of the remoter parts of the Highlands, however, the ministers raised such an objection, and threatened those brave men, who had risked their lives in fighting the battles of their country with the loss of their pensions unless they would abstain from any public profession of their Faith. As many of those men were entirely dependent on what the Government allowed them, the threat of the ministers implied a total privation of their livelihood. It does not appear that such a threat was, or could have been carried into execution, in defiance of the general opinion which prevailed. In fact, the Lord Justice Clerk (the chief judge in Scotland) and the Lord Advocate pledged their word in answer to Bishop Hay's appeal, that, although they could give no public assurance in favour of the pensioners, no complaint as to religion, made against them, should be listened to by the law officers of the Crown. This, we may conclude, was a sufficient check to the charitable ministers, and the retired soldiers were directed to ask, as usual, without fear, the payment of their pensions.

It had been the custom to administer to recruits the attestation oath, in other words, that they should swear that they were Protestants. This custom must have been highly injurious to the military service. Bishop Hay publicly advised all Catholics who wished to enlist, to declare openly when they were called upon to make the attestation, that they were Catholics, and would never take the oath in its existing form. They followed the Bishop's directions, were applauded for their honesty, allowed to omit the objectionable clause and swear only to be obedient and faithful. This reform greatly facilitated recruiting. Many Catholics were added to the ranks of the army as privates, and young gentlemen, notwithstanding their religious profession, obtained commissions.

Lord Stanhope, a minister of the Crown, and a leading member of the Government, endeavoured in 1718 to obtain some mitigation of the penal laws in favour of Catholics. He was supported by the Government of the time, and had many friends in Parliament. He, nevertheless, utterly failed. The age of greater light and a more tolerant mind had not yet dawned. It had made but small progress when our army men, in 1770, took up the gauntlet in favour of their Catholic fellow-citizens. They knew the value of the Catholic soldier; and they would have

him a free man, and not a Pariah or Helot crushed to a state worse than servitude, by cruel and degrading penal laws. A motion made in the House of Commons, 11th Dec., 1770, by General Bourgoyne, and seconded by General Conway, had in view to provide soldiers for the British army at the beginning of the American war. To this end it was proposed to relax the penal statutes which prevented Catholics from serving under the British flag, unless they did violence to their conscience. General Bourgoyne addressed the Commons with great freedom. During the late war he had the honour to command 500 Roman Catholics. It was true that they had come to him as Protestants ; but, it was also very well known that the poor fellows went when they were able, to their own place of worship ; and, as they went out of uniform, he had not opposed it. He declared that they were as brave soldiers as any in the British army ; and that foreign nations were astonished that so many fine soldiers should be forced into foreign service by the imposition of oaths at home, which they could not take without violating Truth and Religion. The eloquence of the noble General was lost on the House of Commons of 1770. In the short period of eight years there was a change. Shall it be said a change of opinion ? The sentiments of a nation do not change so rapidly. But,

wars and rumours of wars, more eloquent than the words of orators, more powerful than "the still small voice of reason," sometimes oblige them to change their policy. It cannot be alleged that the statesmen who composed the Government of Lord North were unfriendly to toleration and a mitigation of the penal laws. But the war with America and an impending war with France, no doubt quickened their zeal in endeavouring to pass through Parliament some form of bill that would considerably lessen the odious laws. It behoved them to move with caution, for they knew not, as yet, what the sentiments of the Opposition were ; and, accordingly, they wisely resolved to refrain from bringing the subject before Parliament until they had made all possible enquiry and preparation. They looked first to Scotland, and sent thither a confidential agent, Sir John Dalrymple, a Scotch Baron of Exchequer. This gentleman was already known as friendly to Catholics, having originated a plan for raising Catholic soldiers in Ireland and having nearly succeeded in obtaining the restoration of the forfeited estates to the families of their original proprietors, when his laudable endeavours were interrupted by the state of affairs in America. Sir John was not without friends in Scotland. Among these was Lord Linton, the son and heir of the Earl of Traquair, a Scotch

Péer; and, in order to be introduced to Bishop Hay, he had recourse to the good services of the Rev. Alexander Gordon, newly appointed principal of the Scotch College of Paris, with whom he had formerly been intimate at the French capital. Sir John now proceeded to business, visited Bishop Hay, and desired to learn from him the sentiments of the Scotch Catholics on the three following points: 1st. How they were generally disposed to regard the war with America? 2nd. What grounds there were to expect that they would enter freely into His Majesty's service if invited? 3rd. What ameliorations in their social condition they would look for as an equivalent for their services? To these queries the Bishop gave distinct answers in writing, under date of 16th February, 1778. He assured the Government agent of the loyalty of the Catholic people, and that, although they were incapacitated by law for serving their country, either as military men or as civilians, their honest endeavour was directed to the discharge of their private duties to their country as good citizens. With regard to the question of the war with America, the Bishop took it upon himself to say that the conduct of the Americans was generally disapproved of by the Scotch Catholics of his acquaintance. As a proof of this, as well as of the readiness with which Catholics would enter into His Majesty's service, he

reminded Sir John that nearly all the emigrants who had left the Highlands for America, a few years before, were now wearing His Majesty's uniform. He also referred to the great number of Catholics who had enlisted in spite of every discouragement, during the last war, and to the popularity of the recruiting sergeant in Catholic districts of the country at the present time. The Bishop added, and at some length, that he considered it undoubted that if the whole penal code were repealed and Catholics restored to all the rights and privileges of their fellow subjects, Catholics would become entirely attached to His Majesty's person and Government, and that the more favoured they were in this way, the more cordial would be their service, but this was more than could be hoped for in the present state of matters. In the meantime, his object could be attained by the removal of the chief impediments to a cordial service of His Majesty. First, a repeal of the sanguinary laws against all hearers and sayers of Mass. As long as it is death or banishment to attend the Catholic worship, it cannot be supposed that Catholics would cheerfully serve, or consider themselves as looked upon in a friendly light by Government. Secondly, a repeal of those statutes which enable the Protestant seller of an estate to take it back again from the Catholic purchaser without allowing

to the latter action for the restitution of the price, and of those which enable the nearest Protestant heir to take the estate from the rightful Catholic proprietor. Thirdly, that that part of the attestation oath which regards religion be done away with, and those who enter the service be required only to swear fidelity to the King and obedience to the laws of war.

Lord Linton's opinion, which Sir John had taken separately, agreed in every point with that of Bishop Hay. The agent was now ready for further negotiations with the Ministry. Accordingly, he saw Premier Lord North, Lord George Germain and Lord Suffolk. These gentlemen were highly pleased with the opinions which he laid before them. Bishop Hay had suggested to Sir John the importance of obtaining the co-operation of the English Catholic body in their negotiations. He wrote, accordingly, to Edinburgh for letters of introduction to Bishop Challoner and other leading Catholics of England. Bishop Hay, in reply, immediately forwarded to the agent a letter for his venerable friend, Bishop Challoner, and another to the coadjutor, Bishop Talbot. More he declined to do, lest he should appear too assuming in the matter, considering that it would be better if in Scotland they seemed to follow rather than to lead. He knew

also that the two Bishops for whom he gave introductions had great influence with all their friends in England, and the persons best qualified to give advice as regards the important business in hand. Bishop Challoner did not enter with much warmth or courage into the plan of a partial repeal of the penal code. But he assured Sir John Dalrymple of the loyal sentiments of the Catholics of England in the present crisis. The aged Bishop had suffered so long from the oppression of the odious laws that he could not be reconciled to the idea of the Catholics acting in the open and public way now proposed to them. He dreaded lest by coming forward in support of the Government, they should give offence to the Opposition and perhaps occasion a renewal of persecution. Through the timidity incident to his great age, he started many difficulties. An eminent Catholic lawyer, Mr. Duane, gave the agent a similar reception. Sir John, however, was not to be discouraged. He waited on the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Petre and many other Catholic noblemen and gentlemen in London. He induced them to hold several meetings for the discussion of the subject. They came at last to the conclusion, with the concurrence of the Ministry, that a loyal address should be presented to the King in the name of the English

and Scotch Catholics. His Majesty would receive it graciously and reply in the most encouraging terms. Soon after they would jointly present a petition, praying for a mitigation of the penal laws. This petition would be referred to Parliament and supported by all the influence of the Court. Thus, by avoiding to introduce the subject merely as a Government measure, unsustained by the voice of the Catholics themselves, it was hoped that it would meet with less opposition. About the same time, also, the Irish Catholics presented a loyal address, so that nothing was wanting to show what sentiments prevailed.

The Catholic nobility and gentry of England were now invited by circular letters to come up to town and sign the proposed address, or authorize it to be signed for them by proxy. At the request of Sir John Dalrymple, Lord Linton, in the absence of the Earl of Traquair, who was resident with his daughters in France, represented the Scotch Catholics. He was willingly accompanied, as he desired, by Bishop Hay. As soon as they arrived, Lord Linton attended a meeting of the Catholic body, at which the address was adopted and signed, personally, or by proxy, by ten peers and nearly two hundred commoners who were gentlemen of family and property in England. Lord Linton and Mr. George Maxwell, of Kirk-

connel, signed for the Scotch Catholics. The address expressed the attachment of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects to his person and Government, notwithstanding the disabilities under which they laboured. The address disclaimed, moreover, all sympathy with the designs of any foreign power against the Crown, and the safety and tranquility of His Majesty's subjects. It appeals for proof of these sentiments to the irreproachable conduct of the Roman Catholics for many years past "under circumstances of public discountenance and displeasure." Lord Arundel and Surrey, Lord Linton and Lord Petre presented the address at a public levee. It was graciously received, as His Majesty had promised it would be, and afforded him much gratification. The Irish Catholics presented a like address, dated Dublin, April 13th, and signed by three hundred persons.

As the Penal Laws were not the same in the three kingdoms, the Ministry desired that the Catholic representatives should prepare for them a note showing what their constituents wished to be done for them by Parliament. It was also signified that if their first demands were moderate, everything that they possibly could desire, the Nation approving, would be done for them in course of time.

There was still great anxiety as to the light in which the Opposition in the House of Commons might view the measure. If it were presented merely as a scheme of the Ministry, it might, on that account, fail. Several circumstances, however, concurred to dispel all doubt on this head, and made it apparent that the members of the Opposition were the warmest supporters of the measure. Many of them were connected with Ireland by property and family, and from a humane feeling towards their fellow-countrymen, they were anxious that the Irish should be relieved of their social and political grievances. Of this liberality, however, Great Britain must set the example. The name of the celebrated Edmund Burke, at that time leader of the Opposition, was a sufficient guarantee for the sincerity and humanity of their motives. And now comes State policy which concurred with so many other causes to secure unanimous support for the Catholic Relief Bill. The American Congress had invited all Catholics to emigrate to the West, promising them entire liberty of conscience. There was also, throughout the land, the salutary fear of a French invasion. This added not a little to the pressure of the American war; and hence it became highly important that all parties in the State should unite against the common enemy. The dissenting Pro-

testants of England, at the same time, lent their aid. They needed a little more religious liberty than the jealous State church and its supporters had hitherto allowed them. They were inclined, therefore, to favour the Catholic movement, considering it a step towards their own complete emancipation. They no doubt also had a view to securing the support which the Catholics, from gratitude, in return for their timely aid, would be disposed to bestow, when the dissenting bodies came to claim an extension of their liberties.

CAP. XXVI.

SEPARATE BILLS—LEAVE TO INTRODUCE THE ENGLISH BILL UNANIMOUS—THE SAME EXTENDED TO THE BILL FOR SCOTLAND WHICH COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED TILL FOLLOWING SESSION—ENGLISH BILL PASSES WITHOUT A DIVISION—ROYAL ASSENT, JUNE 3RD, 1778—PRAYER FOR THE KING IN ALL THE CHURCHES—BISHOP HAY WITH BISHOP CHALLONER—CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND CHEERED BY PROSPECT OF RELIEF—NEWS CONVEYED TO PROPAGANDA BY THE BISHOPS AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING—BISHOP HAY'S OPINION OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE—PASTORAL LETTER—BIGOTRY OF SOME PRESBYTERIAN SYNODS—OTHERS, LIKE PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON, MORE LIBERAL—DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, BISHOP HAY'S "DETECTION"—VIOLENT WRITING AGAINST RELIEF BILL.

Notwithstanding the cordial regard and co-operation Lord Linton and Sir John Dalrymple had met with in England, there arose some difference between the Scotch and English representatives, which led to there being separate bills for the two countries. That the objectionable laws were enacted by different Parliaments, an English and a Scotch Parlia-

ment, was made the pretext. It was a frivolous one, however; and, it is supposed, was merely used by the English committee as an excuse for getting rid of the Scotch Bill. Lord Linton immediately saw the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, who willingly undertook to introduce a Bill of Relief for his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He observed, however, that it would be better to watch the progress of the English Relief Bill, before taking any steps, and see how it succeeded. If there should not be time in the Parliament that was then sitting, he pledged his word to obtain for the Scotch Catholics, in the next session, all that their English brethren should obtain in the existing one.

It was managed so as to have the English Bill presented to the House of Commons by two leading members of the Opposition, Sir George Saville and Mr. Dunning. Their addresses on the occasion must have been highly gratifying to the Catholics, as well as that of Attorney-General Thurlow, who also spoke in support of the measure. Leave was given to introduce the Bill without a dissentient voice. The Lord Advocate then, observing how the House was disposed, rose and asked leave to bring in a similar Bill for Scotland. This was granted with the same unanimity. It was found, however, to be too late in the session to introduce the Bill; but the Lord

Advocate renewed his pledge to Lord Linton that the provisions of the English Bill should be extended to Scotland during the next sitting of Parliament.

The English Relief Bill, meanwhile, passed through both Houses without a division. It was read a first time on May 15th, and received the Royal Assent June 3rd, 1778. Its terms were, in substance, the same as already pointed out. The only condition for enjoying the benefit of it was declared to be the taking and subscribing in a Register the new Oath of Allegiance appended to the Bill. The English Catholics readily came forward to swear and subscribe as required. The day after the Bill passed, a form of prayer was promulgated in all the Catholic Churches and chapels in England for "our most Gracious Sovereign King George III., his Royal Consort and all the Royal Family."

It was a source of happiness for Bishop Hay, during his sojourn in London, to be often with his venerable friend, Bishop Challoner, now in his eighty-seventh year, but who, notwithstanding his great age, enjoyed excellent health. The Scotch Bishop, as usual, a man of the world, although not wordly-minded, went a good deal into society, paying and receiving many visits, sometimes on business, and sometimes for acquaintance sake.

Returning to Edinburgh with Lord Linton, he gave the Scotch Catholics great comfort by informing them that there was, at length, a pretty sure prospect of obtaining relief from the worst and most trying of the penal laws. He advised them, meanwhile, to conduct themselves with becoming moderation on the auspicious occasion, which, indeed, they were in the habit of doing, and together with him, express their gratitude to the Almighty for the happy turn events had taken. In one of his letters to Bishop Grant, he shows his appreciation of the recent good fortune, and at the same time, his astonishment, calling the Relief Bill "an amazing affair."

The time for the annual meeting of the Scotch Bishops had come, and Bishop Hay repaired to Scalan, where he spent the greater part of July. He was greatly renewed after his labours and busy life in London, by the unbroken repose and invigorating breezes of that lonely glen. He regretted to find that the health of his brother Bishops had greatly failed. He said with grief, that he could not hope to enjoy much longer his intercourse with the senior Bishop, and Bishop Macdonald of the Highland district, although not aged, was in very delicate health. The chief business of the Bishop at this meeting was the pleasing duty of informing the Cardinals of Propaganda of the success of the English Relief Bill,

and the expectation they had in Scotland of being similarly benefited in a few months. The constitution of the administrators of the mission temporalities had been revised, and the Bishops, in conjunction with them, addressed a letter to the clergy, advising them of the change. Bishop Hay availed himself of his leisure at Scalan to overtake his foreign correspondence. In one of his letters he says regarding the new oath prescribed to the English Catholics: "There is nothing in it against conscience, although it is conceived in very indelicate and harsh terms." Bishop Grant and his coadjutor, before the close of the meeting, addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy of the Lowland district, congratulating them on the relief that was so soon expected for Scotland in regard to the Penal laws. They recommended also that the clergy should inculcate among their people respect and obedience to the laws ; gratitude and attachment to His Majesty's person and Government, as well as moderation and propriety in their relations with persons of other denominations. Although banns before marriage had been, for some time, without hindrance, proclaimed at Edinburgh, the custom had not yet been established throughout the country. The Bishops in their pastoral letter enjoined the publication of banns in all the missions, the state of affairs being no longer unfavourable to such practice.

The idea of a Bill for the mitigation of the Penal Laws in Scotland excited in an extraordinary degree the anger of the Presbyterian party. No fewer than nine Presbyterian synods throughout the country passed resolutions to the effect that the proposed measure must be opposed to the utmost. Not even the powerful influence of the liberal Principal Robertson could prevent the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, which sits at Edinburgh, from passing a resolution in accordance with the general clamour. He could only obtain that it should be more moderately worded. It alludes to the fears entertained by many that the English Relief Bill would inflict serious injury on the Protestant interests of Great Britain; it was at the same time, the conviction of many others that the ultimate effect of that Bill would be no more than the removal of a few severe penalties and disabilities from inoffensive Catholics. "Amid these various sentiments," the Synod adds, "while they declare their firm adherence to the principles of liberty and the right of private judgment, that they have no intention to interfere with the Legislature in matters of civil right, and do, by no means, wish that any person should be deprived of his inheritance, or subjected to civil penalties for conscience sake. They, at the same time, express their hopes that if such repeal shall be extended to this part of the

United Kingdom, the wisdom and attention of the Legislature will make effectual provision, under proper sanctions, to prevent all the dangers that are apprehended from that repeal."

The Synod of Aberdeen was even more liberal. The influence of Principal Campbel was exerted there; and that synodal body enjoyed the enviable distinction of being one of five synods which pronounced no opinion whatever in the controversy.

Personal ill-will came to aggravate matters. The non-juring minister, Dr. Abernethy Drummond, could not forget what they called the desertion of the Jacobite cause by Bishop Hay and the Catholics generally. He remembered, also, the severe castigation inflicted on him by the Bishop on occasion of the controversy on Miracles.

Bishop Hay's pamphlet, "Detection," in reply to Principal Campbel, was the alleged cause of complaint and provocation. The learned Prelate had accused the Principal of "diabolical calumny and damnable detraction," in having asserted that "from the rescripts of Popes, the opinions of approved divines and even the practice of converts, it were easy to prove that it is not contrary to the will of Heaven to lie, betray or even murder when the supposed interest of the Church requires it." Bishop Hay had challenged his opponent to produce any

one approved divine of the Catholic communion that holds, approves, or even insinuates such a doctrine. It was now seven years since his challenge was published ; but, it was not till August of this year that Dr. A. Drummond took up the challenge on behalf of Dr. Campbel's charge. He wrote to Bishop Hay inviting him to an interview in the advocates' library in presence of three or four learned men to be chosen by both sides, for the purpose of "enquiring, by looking at a few printed books," whether the assertion of Dr. Campbel could be proved or not. The Bishop being at the time engaged in removing to his new house, requested delay which was readily agreed to. Soon after, however, the non-juror, losing patience, twice over renewed his application for a discussion. As a contest of the kind would have required considerable preparation for which the Bishop had not time, he requested Dr. Drummond to furnish him with the names of the authors whom he intended to quote, and with references to the places in their works by which he designed to prove his assertions. This request was followed by a long letter from Dr. Drummond, in which was a short abstract of his proofs. From this it appeared to Bishop Hay that such a controversy was not advisable. Before he could come to any conclusion, there was a second letter from Drummond, in which he

added new proofs to those already advanced, and sketching his proposed line of *argument* (as he called it), he stated that the Bishop would shortly see the whole printed in the form of a letter addressed to Bishop Hay, and published by the Presbyterian Society for the Propagation of Christian knowledge. This showed a change of tactics on the part of the non-juror. He now desired, not a private discussion, but a public debate. The Bishop, therefore, declined to meet him and awaited the appearance of the printed letter. This alliance of Prelacy with Presbyterianism was something new and unexpected. Anything, however, to inflict a wound on the Catholic religion. This was not difficult, considering the clamour that prevailed, and of which the non-juring minister scrupled not to avail himself, both from political rancour and private spite.

Drummond's pamphlet soon appeared. Its title was: "The lawfulness of breaking faith with heretics proved to be an established doctrine of the Church of Rome; in a letter to Mr. G. H., by W. A. D." This was a brand thrown into the already burning mass. A non-juror must have reason, argued the Presbyterians, when he attacks a Catholic. The author, moreover, perverting the private correspondence that had taken place, laboured to make it appear that the Bishop had declined the proposed discussion

from a consciousness of the weakness of his cause.

So violent an attack must be repelled ; and the able Bishop did repel it, and with his usual vigour. His reply bore the following title :—" An answer to W. A. D.'s letter to G. H.; in which the conduct of the Government, in mitigating the penal laws against Papists, is justified ; the seditious tendency of W. A. D.'s letter is discovered ; the Roman Catholics fully vindicated from the slanderous accusation of thinking it lawful to break faith with heretics, which W. A. D. endeavours to fix upon them ; and W. A. D.'s letter proved to be a gross imposition on the public, composed of misrepresentations and false reasonings from beginning to end." The answer ably defends the Relief Bill ; discusses the authorities cited in the non-juror's pamphlet, and shows their true meaning ; and, finally proves, in the most satisfactory manner, that "the Catholic Church holds it impious and unlawful to break faith with any person whatsoever, or on any account." The answer concludes by deprecating the bitter spirit which appeared to animate Dr. Drummond against the Catholics.

The non-juring minister produced another pamphlet. It mattered not to him that his statements were overthrown. Although his reasoning was so weak that no man of learning or any information, could, for a

moment, entertain it, he persisted in his malicious course. He wrote for the populace, and, unfortunately, he had its ear. In his second letter, Dr. W. A. D. pretends to refute the objections to his first epistle, so clearly set forth by Bishop Hay. In attempting to do so, however, he only drew down on himself a castigation under which even the Reverend Dr. Abernethy Drummond must have felt somewhat sore. "So particularly disgraceful," writes the Bishop, "as well as malignant, is the part you have acted, that all men of honour and humanity must equally deny you both these qualities, especially when they are told that you grew to a man's estate, a member of that very church upon which you have now endeavoured to call down vengeance. But, sir, you come too late for that wicked purpose. This is not the age; at least, thanks to God, this is not the country of persecution for conscience sake."

Whatever the wise and learned may have thought of Abernethy Drummond's performances, it was no slight satisfaction to him to find that they produced the bitter fruit which he so much desired. His pamphlets were widely distributed among the Presbyterians; and, the more ignorant ministers, taking his denunciations for texts, raved in their pulpits about the evils of "Popery" and the dangers of the Relief Bill. Taking example from Drummond, they

issued numberless pamphlets, whilst the newspapers teemed with bitter and inflammatory articles. It would be to withhold due honour to Principal Campbell, not to mention, and with praise, that he was almost the only one among the Presbyterians, who protested against the popular clamour. In an address to the people of Scotland on the subject, he disclaimed all attempts to repress the growth of "Popery" by compulsion, and insisted that the only consistent course for a Protestant nation, was the milder method of persuasion.

CAP. XXVII.

GREAT EXCITEMENT—WICKEDNESS OF GLASGOW SYNOD
—SACKING OF MR. M'DONALD'S HOUSE—MR. BAG-
NALL—IRISH RELIEF BILL PASSED—REJOICINGS OF
PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS—THE LORD ADVO-
CATE REFUSES TO PRESENT THE ADDRESS OF THE
GLASGOW AND AYR SYNOD—A HIGHLAND LAIRD
INVEIGHS AGAINST BISHOP HAY—HIS PATIENCE—
ADMIRATION OF MR. MENZIES—BOURGOYNE, CON-
WAY AND OTHER GENERALS ALWAYS FRIENDLY—AD-
DRESS OF SCOTCH CATHOLICS PRESENTED TO THE
KING—DEATH OF BISHOP GRANT—HIS CHARACTER
—BISHOP HAY VICAR APOSTOLIC OF LOWLAND DIS-
TRICT—FANATICAL VIOLENCE--RIOT AT EDINBURGH
—DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH AND HOUSE SO
RECENTLY BUILT.

The excitement of the time was not destined to end with a mere war of words. The unreasoning multitude resolved on something more. On the 13th of October the Synod of Glasgow issued its wicked resolutions against "Popery," and on the following Sunday the fanatical Presbyterian populace of that city took it upon itself to execute them. Among the numerous strangers who had come to reside in Glas-

gow there were a few Catholics. They had no church or chapel, and hence met on Sundays at the house of one of their number, Donald MacDonald, a comb manufacturer, who bore the reputation of being honest, industrious and inoffensive. A priest occasionally visited them from Edinburgh. In his absence they had prayers in common. On Sunday, 18th October, Rev. Robert Menzies, of Edinburgh, celebrated mass for this pious congregation. It was scarcely over when a mob was observed assembling round the house, and exclaiming against the impudence of those people who dared to bring "Popery" into that Presbyterian city, after the Synod had so determinedly protested against it only a few days ago. Before the Catholics could get away to their homes, which they tried to do as quietly as possible, the mob broke into the house, threatening them and uttering savage cries and imprecations. MacDonald showed the rioters over the house, where, however, to their great disappointment, they could find no signs of "Popish" worship. To make amends, and becoming more violent, they smashed the windows, tore the doors off the hinges and rifled the house of everything they could carry away. Mr. Menzies had managed to secure the altar furniture. He then mingled in the crowd, and for self-preservation, joined in the cry "where is the priest?" Macdonald's wife, who

was a Protestant, endeavoured to steal out, in order to give notice to a magistrate, but she was intercepted by the mob, and so maltreated, that she was obliged to take refuge in a friend's house. The riot spreading, many persons were wounded with stones, and respectable parties were stopped and assaulted in the streets, on the bare suspicion of being Catholics. A French gentleman who had resided for some time in the city as a thread manufacturer, under the protection of the Board of Trustees, was especially an object of vengeance to the mob, as was also an Englishman of the name of Bagnall, who had introduced into Glasgow, the manufacture of Staffordshire ware. The law officers of the Crown, although friendly to Catholics, advised them, in reply to their application, to waive their rights and make no resistance; but, as soon as possible, to publish a good refutation of Drummond's tract. They might also have expressed the hope that their synod would teach the people more wisely in the future than it had done in the past. It is quite possible, however, that they could not entertain any such hope.

In view of such occurrences and the general clamour it is by no means surprising that the Catholics felt alarmed in regard to the fate of the promised Relief Bill. The Ministry were friendly, Sir John Dalrymple zealous in the cause, and the Lord Advocate true

to his plighted word; but, might not Parliament be swayed by the extraordinary demonstrations that were taking place in Scotland? There was much encouragement to be derived from the passing of the Relief Bill for the Irish Catholics. This Bill had received the Royal Assent in the National Parliament of Dublin on August 14th, and, with the exception of some murmuring on the part of the Whigs out of doors, and a few incendiary riots in the counties of Down and Antrim, was cordially welcomed by the nation at large. The town of Loughrea was illuminated, and the Protestant people there, with Lord Clanricarde at their head, spent an evening in festivity with their Catholic fellow townsmen. There was no reason why Scotland should be an exception to the cordiality shown throughout England and Ireland, in the performance of an act of clemency and justice towards the Catholics. A meeting of the principal Catholic proprietors of Scotland was held on the 14th of August, with a view to consider what it was best for them to do in order to secure the passing of the measure for their relief. Bishop MacDonald attended, together with several of the leading Highland Catholics. The Lowland interest was also well represented. Bishop Hay persuaded the meeting, but not without some difficulty, to adopt resolutions which were to the

following effect : " That Lord Linton, Mr. Maxwell, of Munshes, and Mr. Glendonwyn should wait on the Lord Advocate at Melville Castle and thank him, in the name of the Catholic people, for his past favours and his promise of future services. That they should also inform him that the heads of the proposed Relief Bill were under the consideration of a meeting of the Catholics at Edinburgh. It was also resolved that Mr. Crosbie, advocate of the Edinburgh bar, should be appointed to prepare the Bill according to the model of the English Bill, and that a rough draft of it should be sent to him by the meeting. The Bill, when approved, it was agreed, should be shown to Premier Lord North, before the meeting of Parliament. A voluntary subscription for defraying expenses was decided on, and it was finally resolved to make an offer of raising a Catholic regiment of 1,000 men for the public service. There was not so much unanimity in regard to this last proposal. The Highland proprietors, already accustomed to recruiting, willingly agreed to it; but the Lowland gentlemen strenuously opposed it. This, no doubt, they were entitled to do. But it was highly unbecoming that one of their number should take occasion, as he warmly and bitterly expressed his opinion, to inveigh against what he called the innovations on the principles and practice of the Catholic body and of their

forefathers, which Bishop Hay had introduced. This attack on Bishop Hay was quite unjustifiable, as whatever changes he had made were effected concurrently with his superior, the senior Bishop, and with the sanction of the Holy See. The Bishop said not a word in reply; but received the severe, abusive and unmerited criticism with the greatest meekness and humility. The late Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, who was present, was so struck with the conduct of the Bishop, that believing he beheld a living saint, he ever after entertained the greatest esteem and friendship for Bishop Hay.

The Government was still friendly, as shown by the refusal of the Lord Advocate to present to the King and Parliament the hostile addresses of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, reminding them that their General Assembly had denied that "Popery" was on the increase, and severely condemning the terms of the addresses.

As has been seen, Generals Bourgoyne and Conway took pains to befriend the Catholics. They were not alone, in this respect, among our army men. A body of Catholic soldiers had expressed a wish to attend Mass at a public chapel. The Major commanding forbade them to do so, as a measure of precaution. Bishop Hay represented the matter to the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Adolphus

Oughton. The General replied through Sir John Dalrymple, regretting that he was from home when the Bishop called on him, and adding that he had seriously considered the note and narrative which he had left for him, and which he had characterized as being thoroughly candid and fraught with that spirit of moderation which becomes his (the Bishop's) character, and which the circumstances of the times seem strongly to require. "Happy is it for the Roman Catholics," he says to Sir John, "that your worthy friend is now at their head, from whose gentleness of temper as well as solidity of judgment, I trust, such measures will be taken as may most effectually dissipate these threatening clouds.".... The General granted permission to the men to "drop into chapel, a few at a time, but they must not go in a body, for fear of a disturbance."

It was made an objection to the Catholic claims, that "Popery" was increasing. This was by no means the case. Many of the Highland Catholics when emigration to America became impossible, settled in the towns; and this circumstance gave an appearance of increase which did not really exist. In all Scotland they were but a mere handful, compared to the numbers of Catholics in England and Ireland which had been favoured with a mitigation of the penal laws. In those two countries, they were com

puted to be one hundred and fifty times more numerous than in Scotland.

While the fear of an imaginary increase of the professors of the hated religion, together with an equally groundless dread of the action of "Romish" schools and priests, and Jesuits without number, was agitating the minds of the populace, the venerable Bishop Grant was called from this earthly scene and its many troubles. Thirty years before, he had undergone, with unshaken constancy the ordeal of a like, if not more terrible, storm of hostile agitation. He was saved from witnessing the violence of the tempest that was now in preparation. The journey to Scalán had exhausted his already enfeebled constitution; and although his friends still hoped that he would be spared to them over the winter, he departed this life at Aberdeen, on the 3rd of December, in the forty-fifth year of his priesthood and the twenty-fourth of his episcopate. He was interred, with becoming honour, in the Snaws Churchyard (Sta Maria ad Nives). Such letters of his as remain give indication of a highly cultivated and refined mind. His best eulogium will be found in the words of Bishop John Macdonald: "He was one of the few who in their whole life escaped all censure, because censure could find no access to one who entered on the stage of the world with the maturity of old age, and whose conduct from the beginning

was regulated by the most solid maxims of prudence and religion."—*Bishop Macdonald to Bishop Hay, Jan. 4th, 1779.*

Bishop Hay now became, by right of succession, Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowland district. At the same time, the Scotch College at Rome was restored to the Cardinal Protector; and the Bishop congratulated His Eminence on his good fortune, whilst intimating to him his own change of position. The Principal of Valladolid wrote his congratulations, saying also: "How critical are the circumstances in which you come to that office!"

It was considered necessary at this time that Bishop Hay, together with Lord Linton, should proceed to London in order to promote the progress of the Relief Bill through Parliament. Letters of introduction to friends in London were given to Lord Linton by Sir John Dalrymple, so well known as a friend of the cause. They at once resumed negotiations with the Ministry, to whom the proposal to raise a Catholic regiment was very acceptable. Lord Germain, however, suggested a change of the wording, leaving the substance the same, in order that it might be legally accepted. The two ministers then desired that it should be presented to the King. This was done by Lord Linton at a levee. His Majesty, who had been prepared for it by Lord North, in-

stead of handing it to the lord in waiting, put it in his pocket. It was intended to show what benefit the State would derive from the repeal, or even a mitigation of the penal laws.

As soon as it was known that measures were in progress for the passing of the Relief Bill, the agitation throughout Scotland raged with redoubled fury. The first step of the "Friends of Protestantism" was to place themselves in communication with Lord George Gordon, the head of a like fanatical association in England; and who, not many months later, acquired fresh notoriety by his violent and unlawful proceedings. There was no end to petitioning; and school boys were hired to give their names to swell the lists of *good Protestants*. Counsel were employed to plead against the passing of the Bill at the Bar of the Houses of Parliament; and inflammatory hand-bills were scattered among the people. Some of these are still preserved at Preshome. Among the rest, one of a very elaborate character, an impression on copper, representing "Sawney's" opposition to the Relief Bill. The description of it is so disgustingly nasty, that our pen refuses to transcribe it. The fury increased as the time approached for the consideration of the Bill by Parliament. In the latter half of January incendiary letters were dropped about the streets of Edinburgh,

and others were sent to some of the principal tradesmen and other respectable persons, conveying threats that, unless they "reformed," their property, their chapels and even their persons would be given to destruction. Catholics were assailed in the streets, when recognized as such, with savage and outrageous cries, such as : "There's a Papist, knock him down ; shoot him !" It was no longer safe for a Catholic to remain in his own house. Some, about the end of January, actually abandoned their homes and went to stay with friends. It would appear that the intended riot broke out a little sooner than the leaders of the mob proposed. On January 29th they caused hand-bills to be dropped about the streets, inviting to do the *Godly* work on the following Wednesday. They ran thus : "Men and Brethren,—whoever shall find this letter will take it as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd on Wednesday next in the evening to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there.

"A PROTESTANT.

"Edinburgh, Jan. 29th, 1779.

"P. S. Please to read this carefully, keep it clean and drop it somewhere else. For King and country—unity." Prefixed to this precious document were the names of the "Committee of the Protestant interest." These very pious persons tried, afterwards, but in vain, to repudiate the incendiary

placard. It was clearly proved to have been composed and circulated directly under their auspices, "for the Protestant interest." The new building in Chalmer's close, near Leith Wynd, had been in use as a dwelling house for about four months. But the chapel had not been opened for public service, although Bishop Hay had said Mass in it privately. During Saturday, January 30th, a mob of ill-disposed persons, gathered about the house, breaking the windows, insulting the Bishop's servants and all who went in or came out. Next day, an alarming report ran through the city that an early day in that week had been fixed on for burning the new chapel, and the destruction of the chapel and priest's house in Blackfriar's Wynd, together with the shops and dwelling houses of the principal Catholics in the town. On Monday morning the threatened victims of the fury of the populace besought the Lord Provost Hamilton to adopt vigourous measures for their protection. This dignitary and the other magistrates were suspected of collusion with the mob, One thing is certain; they were apathetic and indifferent, contenting themselves with vague assurances that there was no real cause for apprehension, whilst they made no preparation to meet a crisis which was becoming every hour more imminent, beyond issuing an order to the heads, deacons, as they were called,

of the incorporated trades, to do their best to keep the young men under their charge from riotous and disorderly conduct. About noon on February 2nd, the mob again assembled around the new chapel house and began to pelt the inmates with stones. Mr. James Cameron and a young priest, Mr. Mathison, just arrived from Spain, sat down to dinner at two o'clock; but the shower of stones soon became so sharp that they could no longer remain with safety in the house. They managed with great difficulty to force their way through the crowd, to the other chapel-house in Blackfriar's Wynd, taking with them the servants and as much of the chapel furniture as they could collect in a few hurried moments and conceal about their persons. Their departure was the signal for the mob to force the doors of the house, which was instantly filled with wild men, armed with hatchets and stones, under the powerful strokes of which the interior of the house soon became a complete wreck. The space of open ground around, and all the avenues leading to it, were at once filled with a dense mass of the rabble, and instantly was heard a general roar: "Set fire to it, set fire to it immediately!" This cry decided the fate of the building. Straw and barrels of tar were distributed over the several floors, and the whole structure was speedily in a flame,

which continued to blaze till ten o'clock at night. A venerable priest, long since deceased, who was acquainted with Bishop Hay, told his friends as a proof of the satisfaction this outrageous work afforded some parties, that an aged lady of the Presbyterian persuasion caused herself to be conveyed to a place from which she could view the burning edifice, and then spreading out her shrivelled hands, thanked the Lord that she was spared to warm her hands at the flames of "the house of sin!"

CAP. XXVIII.

WAS THE RIOT CONNIVED AT?—HEROISM OF HENRY, DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH—STRANGE CONDUCT OF THE AUTHORITIES—RELIEF BILL DEFERRED—BISHOP HAY'S RETURN TO EDINBURGH—COMFORTS HIS PEOPLE—PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON'S HOUSE DEFENDED—THOSE OF SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE AND MR. CROSBIE PROTECTED BY THE SHERIFF—SINGULAR PROCLAMATION OF THE MAGISTRATES—CHIEF JUSTICE MILLER EQUALLY PUSILLANIMOUS—JUDGE SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE'S SYMPATHY WITH BISHOP HAY—INSISTS ON COMPENSATION—THE CLERGY OBLIGED TO LIVE CONCEALED—BISHOP HAY NOT DISCOURAGED—ABERDEEN THREATENED WITH RIOT—PREVENTED BY PRINCIPAL CAMPBEL AND DR. GERARD—RIOT AT GLASGOW—MR. BAGNAL'S HOUSE AND PROPERTY DESTROYED—VIGOUR OF MAGISTRATES—DAMAGES PROMPTLY PAID—KINDNESS OF MERCHANTS AND MINISTERS—DUNDEE IN DANGER—OFFICER ON DUTY THREATENS THE POPULACE WITH FIXED BAYONETS—A MOB AT PEEBLES—ANOTHER AT PERTH—COUNTY GENTLEMEN SAVE STOBHALL—SAD TIME—CLERGY ABROAD ONLY AFTER NIGHTFALL—A FANATICAL M.P. INSISTS THAT ALL

CHILDREN OF CATHOLICS BE BROUGHT UP PROTESTANTS—CATHOLICS PROPOSE EMIGRATING IN A BODY—THE PROPOSAL DISCOURAGED—BISHOP HAY'S EFFORTS TO OBTAIN INDEMNIFICATION AND PROTECTION FOR THE FUTURE—KEEN DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT—MESSRS. FOX AND WILKES INSISTING ON MORE THAN THE BISHOP ASKED—WOULD HAVE RELIEF BILL AT ONCE—MR. BURKE PREVAILS; CAUSES GOVERNMENT TO PAY ONE HALF OF THE RIOT COST AND TO COMPEL THE CITY OF EDINBURGH TO PAY THE REMAINING HALF—CATHOLICS PROTECTED ALTHOUGH NO FORMAL ASSURANCE COULD BE GIVEN.

It will ever be a mystery to ordinary readers how it came to pass, that with abundant means of defence at hand, no efficient protection was given to the Bishop's house or those of the Catholic laymen which were attacked and plundered. The town guard is not worth mentioning; but there was in the city a numerous body of the regiment of "Fencibles," commanded by the Duke of Buccleugh. If these men had acted, there would have been no destruction of property. But how came it that they did not act when their commander displayed so much zeal and courage? The riot act, indeed, was read; but no entreaty on the part of the commander, or Lieutenant-Colonel, could prevail on the magistrates to use

the military at their command, in other words, they would not authorize the soldiers to charge the mob. This looked like collusion with the rioters, as was, indeed, alleged with much show of truth. Why did not the Commander, who was Lord-Lieutenant of the county, give the order to scatter the rabble? Nobody suspected him of connivance. He frequently endangered his life by his personal efforts; but the civic authority alone, we imagine, commanded in the city. It was a pleasure to hear the late Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels relate how Henry, Duke of Buccleugh, sprang into the midst of the mob, seized a ringleader, and handed him to the authorities. This, it appears, he did several times, at great personal risk. But what availed it? No sooner were such parties committed to prison in the Castle than they were liberated, and that by the orders of the Lord Advocate? It looked like inaugurating anarchy when the rulers of the land thus encouraged the outrageous proceedings of an impious and lawless mob. Several tradesmen suffered the destruction of their shops. Among these sufferers were Lockhart and Smith, who, it will be remembered, left the non-juring flock and became the occasion of "the appendix" to Bishop Hay's work on Miracles.

The dangers arising from the agitation in Scotland discouraged the Government from forwarding the

Relief Bill. The Scotch members were induced by the popular clamour to withhold their support. So, with the general consent, it was formally withdrawn. Bishop Hay, now that nothing more could be done towards the great object of repeal, in the meantime, hastened back to Scotland, where his afflicted people stood in need of all the comfort and support it was in his power to afford them. He reached Edinburgh at the very time the flames were devouring his new house and Church. While walking from the inn towards his home, quite unaware of what was happening, he observed that the streets were unusually crowded. To his great surprise, the crowding increased as he proceeded. When near Blackfriars' Wynd, he enquired of an old woman whom he met, what the matter was—what it all meant. "O, sir," she replied, "we are burning the Popish chapel, and we only wish we had the Bishop to throw into the fire." The Bishop made the best of his way to the Castle where he was safe in the midst of our brave military.

The day after that on which the new house was burned, the mob attacked and plundered the chapel house in Blackfriar's Wynd. It was, however, in so crowded a locality, that the whole city would have been in manifest danger if it had been set on fire. Resistance was therefore made, and successfully.

The stand which Principal Robertson had made in support of moderation, humanity and justice, had rendered him obnoxious to the fanatical populace. They determined, therefore, to devote the afternoon to the destruction of his residence which was within the precincts of the University. He himself took refuge in the castle, and a strong detachment of the "Fencibles" supported by cavalry, effectually protected the house of this excellent man notwithstanding the oft-repeated attacks of the mob.

Some fear was entertained for Lord Linton's town residence, Ramsay Lodge, and his infant daughter was removed to a place of safety, while his chaplain, Mr. Cruikshanks, withdrew for a few days to Traquair House.

Wednesday evening, according to a notice sent, was appointed for a visit by the mob to Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Crosbie. The latter was not only an eloquent pleader, but also at the same time a skilful artillery man. He availed himself of his knowledge and made warlike preparations, covering the roof of his house with hand grenades and loaded blunderbusses, and, so, awaited the arrival of the enemy. Sir John, as he himself related, not being so well acquainted with the art of war, sent a requisition to the magistrates, as one of the king's judges, asking for a guard of soldiers and a qualified

person to read the riot act, and that he, as a justice of the peace for the county, should have the command of the whole party in the event of his house being attacked. The magistrates could not assist him, as his house was not within the Royalty. They, however, sent his message to the sheriff. This official at once went to him, and offered him a hundred soldiers, the riot act, and as much powder and ball as he wished for his use on the occasion. The populace hearing of the formidable preparations that were made to receive them at the houses of Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Crosbie, contented themselves with marching forward and backward, several times, before their gates ; but without venturing to attack. Surely as much might have been done, and with as good results, at the commencement of the riot. "Where there's a will there's a way."

The same evening, the Lord Provost and magistrates pronounced their own condemnation by a Proclamation which they issued. It formally assured the citizens that the Relief Bill had been withdrawn, and that, in consequence, "the fears and apprehensions of well-meaning people with regard to the penal laws against "Papists" might now be set at rest. They concluded by informing the public that the magistrates were now resolved to take vigorous measures for repressing riotous and tumultuous meet-

ings of the populace; for now they were satisfied "that any future disorders could proceed only from the wicked views of bad and designing men." This was an indirect, indeed, but certain sanctioning of the riot that had just occurred, and of any similar riot provided that its objects were opposition to the Catholic Relief Bill. *Well-meaning* persons had mobbed and rioted, plundered and burned in order to obstruct the repeal of the Penal Laws. There was no further alarm on that head now; future rioters and incendiaries, therefore, would not be allowed the benefit of the mild treatment suitable to *well-meaning persons*. Thus was a dangerous precedent established. But, indeed, nothing better could have been expected from the magistrates of Edinburgh. But what must not be our surprise when we find men of the highest education, statesmen and judges of the land, acting with the like pusillanimity! A few days later, a proclamation similar to that of the magistrates was issued by Sir Thomas Miller, who was at that time the highest criminal judge in Scotland. He claimed to be authorized by Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of State, who, through the medium of the Lord Justice clerk, desired to assure the people of Scotland that no Bill for the repeal of the laws against Papists was intended to be brought into

Parliament by any member of the Government, or by any other person known to Lord Weymouth. He ended by expressing the hope that this assurance would "quiet the minds of all ranks of people on this subject."

The "friends of the Protestant interest" and their great supporter, the populace of Edinburgh, now rested from their labours, satisfied, as well they might, with the victory which, to the lasting disgrace of the rulers of the land, they had so easily won.

Bishop Hay, who had suffered so much, was not without sympathy. The flames of his favourite house and church, it may be said, were still blazing, when that most worthy Judge Sir John Dalrymple, wrote to him, kindly offering all the encouragement that words could convey. The first half of his letter was in French, in case it should be intercepted. "Have no fear at all; everything will turn out to your advantage. It is reported that the city will willingly pay your damages. Let me know where you are; I will come and see you. If you want money I will send you some. The city and the Advocate will let the prisoners escape for want of proof; take care then to have proofs in the precognition which will soon be taken. You ought to write, with thousand thanks, to the Duke of Buccleugh; he ventured his life, over and over again, to save your house and your

people, and had the magistrates done their duty, as he did, your house would now have been standing and Mrs. Macdonald living. * * * Some think this is the time to get your Bill, that Government may show the populace are not to prescribe to them. I have advised Lord Linton to be governed by Lord Mansfield."

Lord Linton was still in London; and the noble minded Dalrymple wrote to him, also, conveying the news of the riot. He condemned indignantly the conduct of the magistrates throughout the whole affair, adding that the few prisoners, who still remained in custody, would probably be discharged, "as there is party in the case; and thus to gain a borough, 25,000 of the most zealous subjects will be lost to the King. . . . If the corporation be not obliged to pay the damages done and the prisoners be not punished, then I think there is no Government in Scotland; and if the King's servants leave this country to itself, they may chance to hear of it. I did not expect to see the day when the non-jurors and the enthusiastical part of this country were to prescribe Acts of Parliament for the rest of us. Their fury was the more ungenerous that the news had come down the day before of Your Lordship's dropping the Bill for the sake of public quiet."

The Catholics of Scotland were now in a worse position than they had been in for thirty years, after all that they had done towards promoting the relief of their brethren in England and Ireland. The clergy were without a house or church, and were obliged to live concealed in the houses of their friends. Bishop Hay's papers were fortunately saved from the flames; but his furniture and a valuable library, the accumulation of three of his predecessors, had partly been destroyed by the fire and partly distributed, by public auction, among the riotous populace. He, nevertheless, showed the most exemplary resignation. He was more concerned for the sufferings of his afflicted people than grieved by his own losses. He exhorted them not to be discouraged, but to trust that in God's own good time, "He will make light to rise out of darkness and order out of confusion." He assured them, moreover, that if they and he himself were not wanting in their duty, His infinite goodness would turn all to their greater good, remembering "that all things work together for good, to them who love God;" and "that, through many tribulations, we must enter into the kingdom of heaven." He conjured them, at the same time, never to allow the slightest resentment against those who injured them, to enter their hearts, following the example of Him who prayed, when on the bitter cross: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

Aberdeen was also threatened ; and was only saved from a riot, similar to that which had disgraced Edinburgh, by the successful exertions of Principal Campbell and Dr. Gerard in behalf of order and peace.

In Glasgow the Catholics were less fortunate. A day of fasting and humiliation had been appointed throughout Scotland, by Royal proclamation, on account of the war with France and America. The "friends to the Protestant interest" resolved to give additional sanctity to the day, by a riotous attack on the property of several Catholics of the place. In defiance of the magistrates and the military, the mob completely destroyed the stock in Mr. Bagnall's Staffordshire warehouse, together with his private residence. On some of the ringleaders being apprehended, the populace demanded their release with such fury, that the authorities were obliged to set them at liberty. The magistrates, however, adopted more vigorous measures ; the streets were patrolled by military and by a large body of special constables furnished by the incorporate trades, and the riot ended with the day. The principal merchants and even the ministers were ashamed of the violence of the mob and kindly received the victims of its lawlessness. There never was any difficulty in obtaining full compensation for their losses.

Symptoms of an inclination to riot were manifested at Dundee. They were promptly and effectually checked by the commandant, who swore that, on the first appearance of any disorder, he would turn out four hundred soldiers with fixed bayonets.

A mob at Peebles audaciously threatened the ancient house of Traquair. Their wrath, however, was pleased to be satisfied by throwing stones at Catholics as they came out of the chapel. They were probably cool enough to calculate the cost of further violence.

A Perth mob, bent on mischief, put itself in march for Stobhall under the auspices of the "Friends to Protestantism." The county gentlemen, however, gathered a respectable force, consisting of their servants and the country people, for the defence of their Catholic neighbours. The mob becoming aware of this preparation to meet them and hearing the discharge of firearms, retired without risking a battle.

It was a sorrowful time. The clergy could not walk abroad in the streets till after nightfall; and as regarded the public duties of their office, they could do nothing; they had neither house nor chapel wherein to officiate. The "friends of the Protestant interest" pushed their persecution so far as to insist that Protestants should have no relation whatever

with Catholics even in the ordinary business of life. A fanatical member of Parliament went farther still and proposed that for the more effectual annihilation of the hated religion, Catholic children should be taken from under the care of their parents and be brought up by Protestants. So little prospect was there of escaping from such cruel persecution, that the Catholics seriously entertained the project of emigrating in a body, to some foreign country. Spain was thought of and the Spanish ambassador at London gave every countenance to the scheme. It was discouraged by influential Catholics, and, in a short time, abandoned. Meanwhile Bishop Hay was making great exertions in order to obtain indemnification and protection for the future. His two-fold claim occupied the attention of Parliament for some time, and was keenly debated. Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Fox insisted on more than the Bishop asked. They would have the Relief Bill immediately proceeded with. Mr. Burke was the most eloquent advocate; and finally, after much debating, he induced the Legislature to decide that Government should pay one-half of the damage done by the Edinburgh riot, and that the city should be compelled to pay the remaining half. The assessors had already decided that payment be made, but the magistrates and council held the contrary opinion. The debates

in Parliament aroused their fears; and they were only too glad to find that they were obliged to pay only one-half.

The assurance of protection to Catholics by the Legislature was quite another question. It was objected to on the ground that it would have amounted to a repeal of the penal laws, and could not be safely entertained in the actual state of the country. The Bishop and his friends were only too glad that they had succeeded so well, and found so many powerful supporters among the rulers of the land. Although there was no formal promise of protection, Catholics and their property, nevertheless, were protected in every place where riot was attempted, except one, and that one, the capital of the country, was made to pay for its delinquency.

CAP. XXIX.

QUIET SLOWLY RETURNING—"BY CORNERS"—PRAYER FOR THE KING—WHY DEFERRED—DEATH OF BISHOP JOHN M'DONALD—BISHOP HAY ASKS FOR A COADJUTOR—THE REV. JOHN GEDDES APPOINTED—THE CLERGY SATISFIED—LEAVE TO ELECT A SUCCESSOR TO BISHOP M'DONALD—MR. GEDDES CONSECRATED WITH GREAT POMP AT MADRID BY THE ARCH-BISHOP OF TOLEDO—ANNUITY GRANTED BY THE KING OF SPAIN—HANDSOME PRESENT BY THE DUKE OF HIJAR, PRESENTED TO THE KING—ARCH-BISHOP OF TOLEDO ASKS FOR WORKS OF BISHOP HAY—PRESENTS TO BISHOP GEDDES A TOPAZ RING HE HIMSELF HAD LONG WORN—BISHOP GEDDES RETIRES TO VALLADOLID—IN THE MIDST OF SO MUCH GLORY, FORGETS NOT SCOTLAND—BISHOP HAY AT SCALAN—FRIENDS THERE, AIDED BY A CHARGE OF £8 YEARLY FROM EACH BOARDER—REV. ALEX. M'DONALD OF BARRA, VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF THE HIGHLANDS, WAS THE SON OF BOISDALE—BY DISPENSATION NO SECOND BISHOP AT CONSECRATION—PRAYER FOR THE KING ON OCCASION OF NATIONAL FAST—STEPS TOWARDS INTRODUCING CANONICAL DISCIPLINE—PASTORAL LETTER—MODERATION OF THE HOLY SEE—THE LORD GEORGE GORDON RIOT—THE SAME LORD ENDS HIS CAREER AT NEWGATE.

The bad feeling which prompted and accompanied so much illegal proceeding did not easily die away. It soon began to decrease. But it was some time before it was safe for Bishop Hay to stay constantly at Edinburgh. So late as 1782, on occasion of a visit to the family of a relative at Glasgow, Dr. Cleland, it was necessary for him to get away from that city very privately, "In a clandestine manner," as is said, in order to avoid disturbance. By the month of August, the older chapel and priest's residence, the building in Blackfriars' Wynd, was restored and opened. Everything looked so well that a friendly Protestant, Mr. Drummond, a clever lawyer, proposed the purchase of a large house in which there was space for a room that could be used as a chapel, forty feet long and fourteen high, representing at the same time to the Bishop that he must not have his church any more in "By corners," but in an open part of the town and near protection.

It will be remembered that when the Relief Bills for England and Ireland were passed, a prayer for the King and Royal Family was generally adopted by the Catholics of those countries. The Catholics of Scotland, aware that the King and his Government were favourable to their claims, desired unanimously that a like prayer should be in use among themselves, but had hitherto refrained, lest it should be taken as

a sign that their Relief Bill was still under consideration, and the half smothered embers of fanaticism be roused into new fury. If, however, it was found to be pleasing to Premier Lord North and His Majesty, they would unhesitatingly adopt it without regard to the ideas of their enemies.

Bishop Hay, still in London, was thinking of dividing his labours with a coadjutor, when the sad news reached him of the death of Bishop John Macdonald. An epidemic fever that was raging in Knoydart country caused his death in a five days' illness. He had caught the infection when attending the death-bed of a parishioner, and, worn out as he was by incessant labour, he fell an easy prey to the severe attack. Bishop Hay, in writing to the Principal of Valladolid, speaks of the deceased Bishop as "our worthy and most valuable friend." He wrote in similar terms to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Castelli: "Our poor mission has lost in him a worthy prelate, a zealous pastor, a learned and wise priest; and I, a prudent adviser, a faithful friend, and a support to my weakness." In the same letter, the Bishop presented his request for a coadjutor to himself. He could not say that he was aged as yet; but he was old in constitution and weak in health. The labours of twenty years, in the missions, had impaired his strength, and he felt utterly inadequate to

sustain the burden of the vicariate alone. The good Cardinal at once consented, and left it to the Bishop to name the party on whom his choice had fallen. At the same time, leave was given for the election of a successor to the deceased Bishop of the Highland district, and a dispensation granted to Bishop Hay to consecrate him alone without the assistance of any other bishop. Bishop Hay lost no time in naming as his coadjutor, Mr. Geddes, with whose excellent qualities he was so well acquainted. The nomination was cordially accepted by the clergy, Mr. Robert Grant of Douai alone dissenting, not that he thought Mr. Geddes was not qualified for the episcopal office, but that he would continue to be more useful in his position as Principal of the College of Valladolid, which he had hitherto conducted with eminent success. Mr. Geddes himself, made no opposition to the appointment. The will of his superiors was to him the will of heaven. In a letter to Abbate Grant he said : "Among the means of rendering things easy to me, I hope one that Providence will make use of, will be that of preserving long in life, my good friend, Bishop Hay, so that I may have little to do but to execute his orders, in the doing of which, with the divine aid, I do not apprehend much difficulty." It was arranged that Mr. Geddes should remain another year in Spain; but Bishop Hay desired that his consecration should

take place without delay. It was appointed, accordingly, that he should be consecrated, without loss of time, at Madrid. To this the King of Spain not only consented, but also, at the same time, settled on the Bishop-elect an annual pension of £106, chargeable on the wealthy See of Cuenca. As it was the custom in Spain that there should be a *Patrinus*, or Patron, the Duke of Hizar accepted this office in his own name [and that of his brother-in-law, the Count of Montijo, who was then with the King at the Escorial. It fell to the Patrinus to defray the expenses connected with the consecration. Bishop Hay heard of these preparations with the greatest satisfaction, and with pious gratitude to heaven, claimed as his friends, the friends of his friend, the Bishop elect. The rite of consecration was performed with great solemnity at Madrid, in the Church of the Nuns of the Visitation, where the excellent Mr. Geddes, together with the Bishops-elect of Urgal and of Almeria, was promoted to the Episcopate by Francis Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo. On this auspicious day Bishop Geddes dined with his Patrinus. The good duke, knowing that he was fond of children, contrived a very graceful way of presenting him with a valuable cross and ring. The duke's young son, when at a game of play with the Bishop, placed the gift in his hand. His Grace of Hizar also pre-

sented the newly-consecrated Bishop to His Majesty the King, and to the princes and princesses. The Archbishop inquired particularly about Bishop Hay, and desired to have a copy of his works sent to him for his library at Toledo. He also made a gift to Bishop Geddes of a beautiful topaz ring which he had himself long worn. Bishop Geddes was far from being elated by so many honours. He retired to Valladolid, intending to spend there the Christmas holidays. He had conceived a great affection for the hospitable Spaniards, among whom he met with so much kindness, and he regretted leaving them; but this did not hinder him from *turning his thoughts towards his good old friends in Scotland, of whom he thought very often, even in the midst of the grandeur of Spain*—*B. Geddes to B. Hay, Dec. 4th.*

After a most fatiguing sojourn of four months in London, Bishop Hay returned to Scotland, July 1779; avoiding the large cities, he proceeded at once, to Scalan. There, with the senior priests of both vicariates, he felt, once more, that he was among friends, and could enjoy that tranquility to which he had been so long a stranger. He was greatly benefitted, also, by the change of place and scene. The bracing air of the Highland Glens and the exercises in which he indulged, contributed much to renew his health; and when, a little later, he could have the

advantage of sea-bathing, he hoped for complete restoration. It was arranged that he should spend the winter at Aberdeen, partly on account of the clerical duty required there, and partly in order to avoid being at Edinburgh, where he could scarcely yet, such was the state of popular feeling, appear in public. As additional relief, at this time, he placed the office of procurator of the mission in the hands of the administrators, who appointed, in his place, Mr. J. Thomson, not forgetting to compliment the retiring procurator on the strict accuracy with which he had always kept his accounts.

There is mention at this time of the scarcity of funds for the maintenance of the seminary at Scalan. It was determined, therefore, to charge, in future, each boarder £8 yearly. Candidates for admission on the endowed fund were also required to pay the like sum during their probation.

The appointment of a successor to the deceased Bishop John MacDonald was not a matter of such unanimity as that of Bishop Geddes. Six of the senior priests voted for the Rev. Alexander McDonald, the priest at Barra, who had been in Bishop McDonald's time, Vicar-General of the Highland district. Six junior priests gave their votes for Rev. Alex. McDonald of Knoydart. To the great dissatisfaction of the latter, the juniors, Bishop Hay

supported the votes of the six seniors; and the priest of Barra was, in consequence, elected by the Cardinals of Propaganda. This Bishop-elect was the son of Mr. McDonald, the Laird of Boisdale. He was now Bishop of Polemo, *in partibus*, and, as Vicar Apostolic, chief pastor of all the Highlands. His consecration was delayed by the state of the weather. Storms in the Western Islands prevented him from proceeding to Scalan, where it was arranged that the ceremony should take place. The deep snow made it impossible for Bishop Hay to travel from Aberdeen, so that it was not till Passion Sunday, March 12th, that he enjoyed the great satisfaction of consecrating his former fellow-student. The consecration, without the assistance of a second Bishop, was sanctioned by a formal dispensation. The Rev. Messrs. Alexander Cameron and James MacGillivray were present.

The Bishop of the Lowland District had now some leisure for the consideration of useful ecclesiastical arrangements. Suitable regulations were made for a proper, uniform and becoming observance of the festival of the Purification, commonly called Candlemass Day.

On occasion of a Royal Proclamation ordaining a general fast day throughout the land on account of the critical circumstances of the country, the Bishop

laid it as a duty on all his people to use a Prayer for the King and Royal Family, observing "that as it is the duty of every member of society to wish well to the country and the State to which he belongs, as the light of nature teaches, but also as the Holy Scripture expressly commands, 'to make supplications, prayers and intercessions for kings and all that are in high stations, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under their rule,' (1. Tim. ii). In furtherance of this object, he directed the clergy when enumerating the objects of their prayers before commencing Mass, to make special mention of the King, Queen, Royal Family, and all civil magistrates and rulers. He desired them also to intimate to their congregations that there would be public prayers on the 3rd of February, the day appointed for the national fast.

With a view to introducing more canonical discipline among the clergy, which he had been meditating for some time, the Bishop published a very long pastoral letter which might rather be described as a treatise. An idea of it may be derived from the heads of the sections into which it is divided. 1st.—On the sanctity annexed to the priesthood. 2nd.—On the sanctity required for the pastoral charge. 3rd.—On the sanctity that belongs to the character of an apostle. 4th.—On the sanctity which the Church

requires in her ministers; citing acts of councils, etc. on clerical behaviour; on the virtues, especially, which they are charged to practice, and the amusements, etc., which they must avoid; of study; of prayer; even of their exterior behaviour; concluding in the words of I. Peter; ii; 1.: *Qua propter dilecti Fratres. * * * Munde mur nos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus, perficientes sanctificationem in timore Domi.* It will be universally admitted that the clergy cannot be too much or too warmly exhorted to cultivate sanctity. It is quite another question whether the best way to attain this desirable end is that authority should require the utmost possible amount of external observance. In regard to this question, we have the example of the Holy See, which is far from holding exaggerated views, and rigidly insisting on an absolutely strict adherence to all outward practices, however good. An instance of this may be found in the relaxation of the law concerning certain holiday obligations granted to Scotland at the time of which we are writing. In virtue of this indult the precept of hearing Mass and of abstaining from servile work, was left binding on the Catholics of Scotland only on the following holidays: Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension, Corpus Christi, the Annunciation and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; the festival of SS. Peter and Paul;

of All Saints, and of the patron saint of the place wherein it is kept. On Easter Monday and Tuesday, and on Pentecost Monday and Tuesday, the precept of hearing Mass was left binding, but not the obligation of abstaining from servile work. Vigils attached to the festivals, now dispensed from, were transferred to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent, together with the precept of fasting. And, as the festival of SS. Peter and Paul sometimes falls in the hay harvest, and the festival of the Assumption in the barley harvest, the Bishops were authorized, in such cases, to permit manual labour in the fields, provided Mass had been heard.

A new outbreak of popular fury comes to be mentioned. It occurred in England ; but was connected with Scotland, inasmuch as it was headed by a Scottish nobleman and suggested by the success of a Scotch mob in preventing Parliament from passing a Relief Bill in favour of the Catholics of Scotland. This was the memorable riot led by Lord George Gordon. This hopeful scion of the illustrious house of Gordon, which had so long and which still protected the Catholics of the North, had been intriguing, for some time, in order to stir up the populace of London with a view to force a repeal of the measures of toleration which the Legislature had provided for England and Ireland, and would have extended to Scotland but

for the popular excitement in that country. The popular will had prevailed there, why should it not in England also? So thought Lord George Gordon, and a "Protestant association" of which he was the chief. This "association" is described in history, as consisting of persons "outrageously zealous and grossly ignorant," who would have been insignificant and unheeded, if not assisted by some party possessed of rank and influence. Such they found in Lord George Gordon, a young nobleman of a wild and fervid imagination, or, more correctly, perhaps, one who, on religious topics, was a monomaniac. Belonging to a leading family, and a member of the House of Commons, he was not without influence; and he, no doubt, thought it would add to his importance to be the leader of the "Protestant association," and to appear, thus, as the champion of Protestantism. He would, at any rate, gain a tolerable amount of mob notoriety as a member and chairman of the Society. In his quality as chairman he proposed, at a meeting of the Association in Coachmaker's Hall, on the 29th of May, 1780, that they should assemble in St. George's fields at ten o'clock on the 2nd of June, when they should accompany him with a petition to the House of Commons, praying for a repeal of the act of toleration recently granted to the Roman Catholics. On the

day appointed for this extraordinary display of "moral force," the Commons were much surprised, although, indeed, considering the public notice, they could expect nothing less, to observe the approach of fifty thousand persons, distinguished by blue cockades in their hats, bearing the inscription "*No Popery.*" Lord George presented the petition and moved that it be taken into immediate consideration. His motion was rejected by 102 to 6. During the discussion, His Lordship frequently addressed the mob outside, which became more menacing as the petition was thrown out. It appeared as if they were determined to become violent and overwhelm the Commons. General Conway, noticing this temper of the crowd, drew his sword, and addressing Lord George Gordon, swore that he would run it through his body the moment any one of his rabble dared to enter the chamber. The leaders then diverted their attention by telling them that the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the Catholic chapels. At the word, the obedient mob rushed away to the chapels of the foreign ambassadors, which they speedily set on fire and demolished. On the following Monday, numbers of idle and profligate persons, ever ready for riot and plunder, swelled the ranks of the incendiary mob. This accession of strength added to their violence. Several houses of prominent

Catholics were attacked, plundered and destroyed. As their fury increased, they no longer made any distinction. All property was alike to them. *Tros Tyriusque nullo discrimine agitur.* They hurried to Newgate and demanded the immediate release of some of their associates that were imprisoned there. This demand being rejected, they threw fire-brands and combustibles into the keeper's dwelling house. The flames spread rapidly, and the whole building was soon in a blaze. In the confusion and terror of the moment all the prisoners, more than three hundred, escaped and joined the rioters. Five other prisons were treated in the same fashion. the new prison, Clerkenwell, the King's Bench, the Fleet prison and New Bridewell were given to the flames, together with many private residences. On that Monday night, London was seen blazing in thirty-six different places at once. The mob then made for the Bank of England, where, it would appear, they met with resistance for the first time. They were severely punished by the soldiers on duty there. The military now came in from the country; and it was time. The King and council, without waiting for the tardy action of the civic powers, gave orders to the officers to use vigorously the force at their command, and scatter the rioters. Meanwhile, much damage was done, and more was

feared. Such scenes of outrage and brutality, and no means at hand, at least none employed, for checking the disorder, for so long a time, could not but disgrace the country in the estimation of foreign nations. It was a whole week before tranquility was restored; and then it was found that 458 persons had been killed or wounded, whilst many perished from intoxication. Twenty-five of the most violent rioters were hanged. Under a warrant of the Secretaries of State, Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. This was a mistake. He should have been imprisoned as a highway man. The treason charge fell to the ground for want of proof; and this worst of evil doers was acquitted. Notwithstanding his cruel and atrocious proceedings, he was, on occasion of the riot, "unwhipped of justice." He found his way to Newgate at last, having libelled the Queen of France, and there ended his inglorious career.

CAP. XXX.

SCOTLAND EXCITED—FEAR OF RIOT—ABBE PAUL M'PHERSON—DEATH OF THE EX-PROVINCIAL OF THE JESUITS—THE VENERABLE ALLAN M'DONALD OR RANALDSON, MUCH ESTEEMED BY BISHOP HAY—HIS DEATH—"THE SINCERE CHRISTIAN" MUCH SOUGHT FOR—AN IRISH EDITION—TRANSLATED INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES—SEVERAL OPINIONS—BISHOP TALBOT'S, THE "PIOUS CHRISTIAN;" EQUALLY DESIRED IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND—DEATH OF BISHOP CHALLONER—HIS WORKS—BISHOP GEDDES IN SCOTLAND—MEETING OF THE BISHOPS—ARRANGEMENT FOR THE CARE OF PRINCIPAL GORDON'S INSANE BROTHER—MR. ALEX. GEDDES INJUDICIOUS—LEAVES THE MISSION—THE HIGH AND RARELY BESTOWED DEGREE OF DR. OF LAWS, (L.L.D.) CONFERRED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN—£200 YEARLY FROM THE CATHOLIC LORD PETRE.

It was feared lest the contagion should spread to Scotland. The riotously disposed there, however, as well as the authorities, had got their lesson. The certainty that all losses must be paid for made the magistrates more circumspect, and caused them to

act with determination and vigour. The populace, although excited, refrained from all attempt at violent proceedings.

1780. There were several changes among the clergy this year. One of the most notable was the appointment of the Abbe Paul Macpherson, not unknown to fame, to the mission of Aberdeen, in place of Mr. Oliver, who, from weak health, retired to a country mission. Mr. Johnson, formerly Provincial of the Jesuits in Scotland, died this year. He was a native of Bræmar. His real name was Patrick Gordon. His connection with the expedition of Prince Charles had caused change of name. It obliged him also to live for some time in exile. By ability and tact in his management, he conciliated the good will of the secular clergy. He claimed to be a poet, and wrote spiritual and controversial songs, the greater part of which Bishop Hay collected and published. It is remarked, however, that these compositions do more honour to the orthodoxy than the literary accomplishments of the author. At this time, also, ended at Edinburgh, the career of the venerable Mr. Allan MacDonald, called also Ranaldson. This aged priest was much esteemed by Bishop Hay.

Notwithstanding his many occupations, Bishop Hay found time to prepare a work on Christian

doctrine; and by this work, perhaps, he is more generally known than by any of his other writings. It bears this title, "The sincere Christian instructed in the faith of Christ from the written word." It may be described as a summary of revealed religion in the distinct and emphatic form of question and answer, the whole being illustrated and proved by copious extracts from Scripture. It is written in a conciliatory spirit, controversial, indeed, but defensively rather aggressively. In this style it shows the grounds on which are founded the disputed articles of Catholic faith and practice, without attacking the views and ways of other religious parties. The Bishop himself, in the introduction to this work, gives a distinct account of the object he had in view: "The view I have had in this present work, is to assist the most unlearned; and, beginning with the first rudiments of Christianity, to conduct the reader, step by step, through the whole body of the principal truths of revelation, so that the knowledge of one truth may serve as an introduction to those which follow. The sacred Scriptures are an inexhaustible fountain of heavenly knowledge, but are commonly less used than they might be, in illustrating and establishing the truths of religion. A text or two, hinted at now and then, seem lost in the multitude of other reflections and reasons which surround them ;

but when the principal stress, both of the explication and the proof, is laid upon these divine oracles, and a number of them are placed in the proper order for illustrating the point in question, this gives an incredible force to what is proposed—shows that it is God Himself who speaks, and cuts off all occasions for human sophistry to enter.” The extraordinary merit of the work was at once acknowledged. There came demands for copies from all parts of the kingdom. The English Bishops made many purchases. Archbishop Carpenter desired to have an edition for Dublin, and requested of the author permission to publish it. This edition was soon followed by a second. All this must have been highly gratifying to the Bishop; and he so expressed himself: “Our Irish friends have done great honour to the ‘Sincere Christian.’” The Archbishop of Dublin recommended it to all his clergy as a model of catechetical instruction. In writing to Bishop Geddes, he complained of *the getting up*. The paper was not to his mind; but he was pleased to think that the printer had promised something better for the second part, “when the great and good Bishop Hay will please to furnish us with it.” There have been many editions of this able work in the United Kingdom, Ireland and America. It has also been translated into foreign languages.

It would be a rare work, indeed, that could escape all criticism. Appended to the "Sincere Christian" was an appendix treating of the possibility of salvation out of the true Church of Christ. Some of the author's friends remarked that in this treatise he had stated the case more harshly and inexorably than was consistent with the recognized possibility of invincible or insuperable ignorance. It was quite another question as regards the number of those who, from their sincerity and virtuous life, may have the benefit of this ignorance, although not outwardly belonging to the body of the Church. The author's literature, one would say, was more at fault than his theology. This view is confirmed by the remarks of Bishop Geddes in reply to Bishop Hay, who had asked him to point out anything that seemed to him to require correction or amendment: "I do not really remember any particulars to be amended in the 'Sincere Christian.' I remember, indeed, to have said to yourself that I did not entirely approve of your calling so much in question the salvation of every one out of the outward Communion of the Church, as I thought it very probable that some are saved out of it in consequence of the continuation of their invincible ignorance, and of their innocence after they are come to the years of discretion. But, I cannot venture on urging you to change anything

on that subject." Bishop Talbot was even more decided in expressing his opinion. He gave it his entire approval ; and when a certain noble lord criticised it unfavourably he frankly told him that he admired it to such a degree as that he should have thought it an honour to be the author of it ; and that the outcry against it seemed to him the best proof of its propriety, if not even of its necessity.

In 1783 appeared another instructive work from the pen of the same author, "The devout Christian instructed in the faith of Christ." Like the former work, it abounds in quotations and illustrations from the sacred Volume. It may be considered as a continuation, or second part of the "Sincere Christian ;" but is more devotional, while not neglecting doctrine. Hence its title, "Devout Christian," etc. It would be superfluous to discuss the propriety of this title, which the author, no doubt, adopted in order to indicate that it tends more directly than the work which preceded it, to promote the leading of a devout Christian life. It was welcomed at the time of publication in England and Ireland. Bishop Talbot, in particular, showed his appreciation by becoming accountable for any number of copies of the whole work (he considered the "Sincere Christian" and the continuation which followed, as one work) which the author might choose to send him. It is much to be

regretted that the style is not equal to the doctrine of the book. This literary blemish has always been a hindrance to the popularity of the "Devout Christian." It is so, particularly, in this age of literary pretension and refinement.

The Catholics of England sustained, this year, the loss of a highly esteemed and much loved prelate, those of Scotland a zealous and warm friend. On the 10th of January, 1791, the venerable Bishop Challoner was seized with a stroke of paralysis while at dinner with his chaplains. Two days later a second stroke ended his days in the 90th year of his age and the 41st of his episcopate. He was long distinguished, not only as an able Bishop, but also as a Theological and Historical writer. His "Meditations" still continue to edify the Catholic people; and his history of the martyrs of the worst days of persecution is read with interest. An elegant edition of this admirable work was published lately by Mr. MacVeigh of London and Dunfries.

Bishop Geddes, having spent nearly eleven years in Spain, now bade farewell to the Scotch College of Valladolid and directed his steps towards Scotland. He had obtained at Madrid, from men of influence there, letters of introduction to Lord Hillsborough and Lord George Germain. In passing through Guipuscoa he visited the room in which Saint Ignatius

was born, and saw the bed on which that celebrated saint lay when ill of his wound. When he reached London he found there letters from Bishop Hay enclosing introductions to several public men ; and among others, to Lord George Germain, a member of the cabinet, and Sir Grey Cooper, secretary to Premier Lord North. Agreeing with Bishop Hay that it was advantageous to cultivate the friendship of men in power, he, in compliance with the Bishop's desire, sought an audience of these distinguished men. It was important that these powerful statesmen should be fully aware of the good disposition of the Bishops and of their earnest desire to show themselves on all occasions, good citizens and dutiful subjects.

A meeting of the three Bishops was to be held immediately after the arrival of Bishop Geddes, which was expected about the middle of May. The meeting, at which matters of great importance to the mission were discussed, proved to be of longer duration than usual, being protracted till after the middle of June. The presence of Bishop Geddes was singularly opportune and it had great part in the settlement of a long-pending dispute. A brother of Rev. Mr. Gordon, Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, who had been assistant in the College of Valladolid, and had served, for some time, in the Cabrach mission, unfortunately became insane.

There was a difficulty as regarded his maintenance ; and there was, for a considerable time, a great deal of discussion whether the mission or the College in Paris should bear the burden. It was, at last, finally agreed, at a meeting of Bishops Hay and Geddes, together with Mr. Gordon, Principal of the Paris College, that the funds of the mission and another subsidiary fund called "Hacket's money," should provide for two-thirds of Mr. Gordon's board, while the remaining third should be contributed, in equal shares, by the Principal, Bishop Hay and his co-adjutor, from their personal incomes. On the Principal was laid the charge of seeing that the patient, his brother, was properly carred for.

A man of rare merit in many respects, but singularly eccentric, became the cause of great trouble in the mission. Mr. Alexander Geddes had succeeded the saintly Mr. Godsman in the mission of Auchenthalrig. All went well for a time. Mr. Geddes was popular as a preacher, and his zeal as a missionary was abundantly shown by the frequency with which he extended his labours to the neighbouring mission of Preshome. As is often the case with men of genius, he was a bad financier. He incurred loss by speculating in house property, and by the building of a part of the chapel at Tynet, adjoining the park of Gordon Castle. He acquired a literary reputation

by translating into English verse the select satires of Horace. This effort won for him the applause of the leading scholars of the time, Principal Robertson the historian, Dr. Reid, the eminent philosophical writer, and Dr. Beattie, author of "The Minstrel," and the able essay on Truth. Mr. Geddes would have done well to refrain from meddling with the general temporal business of the mission. It was injudicious on his part to attack any measures of the administrators of the mission fund which had been sanctioned by the approval of Bishop Hay. This opposition to the Bishop and the administrators was encouraged and participated in by Mr. John Reid of Preshome, and favoured by many of the clergy. It must have been very mortifying to Bishop Hay to find his measures severely censured and even thwarted, although not openly opposed. This was the beginning of the end. Mistrust and disputes followed. These were aggravated by the severe and unbending character of the Bishop, together with the constitutional irritability of Mr. Geddes, and, finally, led to an open rupture. Every untoward circumstance contributed to widen the breach. On a Sunday which Bishop Hay was spending with his friends in the Enzie, Mr. Geddes was so imprudent as, in company with a party of friends, to go in the afternoon to hear the minister of Banff, a Mr. Nichols, preach. The friends with

whom he attended were the Earl and Countess of Findlater, who was a Catholic, and a Miss Barbara Stewart, a Catholic lady who resided near Preshome. All the party were Catholics except Lord Findlater, of whose conversion there was some rumour. It had long been the custom to consider a single appearance in the Kirk as an act of conformity ; and even those whose friends forced them into the Kirk were held to be Presbyterians. This custom may not, at the time of which there is question, have been so much in vigour as when to conform was to gain all the temporal advantages that exclusively belonged to Protestants. It was still remembered, however, and parties who, of their own free will, made their appearance in any Kirk, at sermon or any other service, were by many considered as having joined the Presbyterians. The clamour that arose among the Catholics on occasion of Mr. Geddes and the friends mentioned having gone to hear a Presbyterian sermon affords sufficient proof of the prevailing opinion that, to be once *in* the Kirk was to be *of* the Kirk. The talk about this unlucky circumstance met the Bishop wherever he went ; and, before leaving the Enzie, he remonstrated in a personal interview with Mr. Geddes, but, without, it would appear, any decided result. The Bishop then wrote to the offender ; and by the severity of his expression and the threat of

suspension, elicited from him a promise of apology. This promise failed to be fulfilled. The apology, if, indeed, apology it could be called, was rather a vindication of his conduct in the matter. The Bishop now required that he should choose between leaving the mission in a fortnight and suspension. Finally, he was favoured with "Dimissorials," which qualified him to offer and to give his services under more favourable circumstances. Bishop Hay, in a letter to Mr. Thomson of Edinburgh, says, "it was a real pain to him to write or to say anything against a person of his (Mr. Geddes') character."

January 3rd, 1781. Mr. Geddes, when chaplain at Traquair, had made friends, who, he was confident would not now desert him. The chief of these was Lord Linton, now Earl of Traquair, in succession to his aged father. In 1779, he (Mr. Geddes) had gone to London in order to visit his noble friend, Lord Linton. On his way, he passed through Edinburgh soon after the riots, of which he wrote an excellent account, adding many interesting particulars concerning the state of affairs at the time. He met with much attention on the part of the more eminent characters of Edinburgh, Lord Kames, Principal Robertson, Sir John Dalrymple, etc. As soon, however, as the populace discovered that he was a priest, as a matter of prudence he resumed his

journey. On reaching London, he was cordially received by his friend, the Earl of Traquair ; and the leading Catholic nobility, in consequence, no doubt, of the interest they took, at the time, in the Catholics of Scotland, paid him all honour. His introduction to Lord Petre proved to be more than honour, as he was destined, ere long, to experience. On occasion of the same visit to London, Mr. Geddes was also introduced to Samuel Johnson.

Soon after the affair with Bishop Hay, Mr. Geddes once more repaired to London ; and there, through the influence of powerful friends, he succeeded in obtaining a chaplaincy in connection with the Imperial Embassy. In no very long time, however, the anti-Catholic policy of the Emperor, Joseph II., deprived him of this benefice. Honours, meanwhile, did not so easily forsake him. The University of Aberdeen, which is far from distributing indiscriminately academic favours, conferred on Mr. Geddes, in recognition of his genius, the high and rarely bestowed degree of Doctor of Laws. (LL.D.) To make a new translation of the Holy Scriptures is surely a herculean task for any one man. Mr. Geddes, nevertheless, feared not to undertake the gigantic labour. That excellent Catholic nobleman, Lord Petre, sympathizing with the able scholarly man who devoted himself to such laudable studies, settled on

Mr. Geddes an annual allowance of £200 during His Lordship's life, and £100 after his death, in order that he might have more leisure for the important study.

CAP. XXXI.

DR. A. GEDDES' BIBLICAL WORK COLDLY RECEIVED—HIS SCEPTICISM—COUNSELLOR CHARLES BUTLER'S CONSIDERATION FOR HIM—HIS DEATH—LAST MOMENTS HOPEFUL—HIS GENIUS, LEARNING AND BENEVOLENT DISPOSITION UNQUESTIONED—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BISHOPS, JUNE, 1781—THEREAT RESOLVED THAT BISHOP HAY PROCEED TO ROME—A FRIENDLY CARDINAL PROTECTOR—WISHES A NATIONAL RECTOR OF THE SCOTCH ROMAN COLLEGE—MR. CAMERON PROPOSED ; BUT CANNOT BE SENT—EDUCATION OF THE STUDENTS SUFFERS—REVISION OF THE STATUTA MISSIONIS—A CONVENIENT RITUAL—TEMPORAL WANTS—SALARIES OF THE CLERGY—ASSISTANCE FROM PROPAGANDA AND FOREIGN CATHOLICS—DUTIES OF THE PRIESTS DISCHARGED GRATUITOUSLY—SOME SMALL RESOURCES—INCREASE OF CATHOLICS—PROPAGANDA'S FRIENDLINESS—COLLEGE AT PARIS INEFFICIENT—BISHOP HAY, WHILE AT ROME, PETITIONS IN ITS FAVOUR—ON HIS RETURN HOME VISITS THE NUNCIO AT SPA—VERY KINDLY RECEIVED—WELCOMED AT WIRTEBURGH MONASTERY BY FATHER M'KENZIE—DINES WITH THE PRINCE BISHOP, "A MOST WORTHY

PRELATE"—ARRANGED WITH ABBOT ARBUTHNOT AT RATISBON THAT A BOY BE MAINTAINED AT SCALAN FOR STUDY LATER AT THE MONASTERY—BISHOP HAY PRESENTS BOOKS TO THE MONASTERY—30 YEARS SINCE HE HAD BEEN AT ROME BEFORE—HIS DIGNITY—KINDLY RECEIVED AT AN AUDIENCE BY PIUS VI—PRESENTS A MEMORIAL---CARDINAL ALBANI GAINED TO HIS VIEW—PROPAGANDA DECIDES AGAINST ANY CHANGE IN THE COLLEGE—40 YEARS LATER, A SCOTCH RECTOR APPOINTED—IN OTHER MATTERS THE BISHOP MORE SUCCESSFUL—AN ANNUAL SUBSIDY.

Notwithstanding all the pains that were taken, the biblical work of Mr. Geddes, when the first parts of it appeared, was very coldly received. There were notes appended to it in which profession was made of the scepticism which was the fashion, at the time, in Germany. No wonder if the English Catholic Bishops found fault, and to such a degree, as not only to forbid the reading of it to their flocks, but also to suspend the author from the exercise of his clerical office. It would have been to his credit if he had meekly accepted this judgment of the Church. Protestant scholars were no less dissatisfied. They pronounced the work of Mr. Geddes a "complete failure." (*Chambers.*)

Counsellor Charles Butler a distinguished Catholic

of London, whose writings do honour to his memory, was personally acquainted with Dr. Geddes, and thus speaks of him in the following terms: "Those who knew him, while they blamed and lamented his aberrations, did justice to his learning, to his friendly heart and his guileless simplicity. Most unjustly has he been termed an infidel. He professed himself a Trinitarian, a believer in the resurrection and in the divine origin and divine mission of Christ; in support of which he published a small tract. He also professed to believe what he termed the leading and unadulterated tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. From her,—however scanty his creed might be,—he did not so far recede as was generally thought. The estrangement of his brethren from him was most painful to his feelings. I have more than once witnessed his lamenting the circumstance, with great agitation, and even with bitter tears."

The death of this remarkable man took place at his house in the new road, London, on the 26th February, 1802, in the 65th year of his age. A French priest who visited him, when on his death-bed, persuaded him to make some apology for his errors. It is related, however, that when this priest returned the servant refused to admit him. This ought not to count for much. If the patient, when death's dark shadow was upon him and his intellectual

power departed, gave an ungracious order to his servant, it was inconsistent with what he had recently said, whilst, as yet, he was of sound mind. It is evident that his religion and his priesthood were, at the last supreme moments, nearest his heart. When a Catholic woman of the neighbourhood understood that he was dying, and hastened to his room, he was not ungrateful, and showed his thankfulness by imparting to her, and it was with his last breath, his sacerdotal benediction. Paddington cemetery received his remains, according as he had desired. The funeral was numerously attended, and by many persons of distinction. "Few men," writes Counsellor Charles Butler in his memoirs of English Catholics, "could boast of warmer or of more respectable friends; for, no one ever called in question his learning or the benevolence of his disposition."

The annual meeting of the Bishops was held in June, 1781. There being several matters of the highest importance to the mission that could not be sufficiently expressed in the usual written report to Propaganda, it was resolved that Bishop Hay should proceed to Rome in order to hold personal interview with the authorities there, and consult on such things as could not so well be set forth in writing. Leave was easily obtained; and the Bishop, after having executed a power of attorney in favour of

Bishop Geddes, as regarded all the monies, at the time, in Bishop Hay's house, prepared for his departure. He left Edinburgh on August 5th, and travelled under the assumed name of Signor Tommase Scotti. The state of the Scotch College was one of the chief objects of the Bishop's visit to Rome. Cardinal Marefoschi having become Protector of the College considering how ill it had succeeded under Italian masters ever since the suppression of the Jesuits, earnestly insisted that the Scotch Bishop should send a properly-qualified native of the country to take charge of the National College. Mr. Alexander Cameron, afterwards so distinguished as Bishop of the Lowland District, was thought of for this office. But the needs of the mission at home interfered. Bishop Hay represented that their brethren were already too much oppressed, and the people by no means served as they would need, many, in different places, dying, especially in the winter time, without assistance, in spite of all that could be done. He stated nevertheless, that if the higher powers absolutely commanded it, Mr. Cameron should go, and the consequences lie on their consciences. Finally, to the great loss of the College, the Bishops declined the proposal of Marefoschi. This unfortunate yielding to what the Bishops considered necessity, gave rise to evils which prevailed through-

out the next quarter of a century. Mismanagement, especially during the latter part of this period, had produced its disastrous fruits. The education and training of the students suffered. Many abandoned their vocation, or were expelled for misbehaviour, and became a public scandal to religion on their return home. The wisdom of Cardinal Marefoschi's proposal was at length understood. The Bishops, unfortunately, were under the impression that at any time they could spare a priest, and the necessity was urgent, they had only to propose at Rome, the measure that had been so earnestly insisted on by Marefoschi. It was otherwise, however; for now, this good Cardinal and his successor Caraffa were no more. Notwithstanding the unfavourable position of matters, it was hoped that Bishop Hay's personal application to the Cardinal Protector, Albani, would obtain his assistance towards having a native of Scotland appointed rector.

Another affair which engaged the attention of the Bishop at Rome was the revision of the *Statuta Missionis*. These important documents owed their origin to Bishop Nicholson, who, in 1700, formed, with the concurrence of the clergy, a code of laws, or *Statuta* intended for the guidance of the priests of the mission in the exercise of their ministry. The sanction of the Holy See was soon afterwards ob-

tained. The *Statuta* were not printed, but circulated in manuscript among the clergy. As new copies were required, from time to time, there could not fail to be errors of transcription. The Bishops, by collecting the most correct copies, with some difficulty reproduced them as they were originally written. Some additions, which the change of the times required, were made ; and it was now one of the objects of Bishop Hay's visit to Rome to obtain for this new edition the sanction of the Holy See, and to have a sufficient number of copies printed to meet the wants of the clergy in Scotland. He also had it in view to request the congregation of Propaganda to prepare and print a small Ritual for their use, containing only such things as were required in the daily exercise of the ministry. An easily carried book was wanted in a country where the priest was often obliged to make long journeys on foot, among the mountains, bearing with him his Breviary, his Ritual and the holy oils.

The Bishop, in visiting Rome, had in view also the temporal wants of the missionary clergy. Twenty years before the time of which there is question, the allowance of a priest from the common fund was only £8 in the country and £11 in towns. The expense of living was always increasing ; and this sum was found to be wholly inadequate. Propaganda considered this, and without making any fixed periodical

grant, had sent a subsidy, from time to time, for the relief of the mission. Catholics in other countries had also generously responded to the calls, in behalf of the mission, made on their charity. By such means as these and by practicing the strictest economy were the clergy enabled to persevere. At the time of which we are writing, and for ten years previously, the priests had each £12 in the country and £18 yearly in towns. With all possible economy, so small a salary could not preserve from actual want; for it will be remembered that the priest had not only to maintain himself, but also a servant and sometimes a horse, when his mission was extensive and scattered. No contribution was, as yet, required of the congregations, except in some parts of the western Highlands, where the better class of people made their pastor a present of some article of food, on occasion of a baptism or marriage. It was considered that the duties of the ministry should be discharged gratuitously, in order to meet the calumny of enemies who ceased not to assert that the Catholic priest only sought self-interest and traded in religion.

It will naturally be asked, how, in such circumstances, the clergy could manage to exist? This question is answered, so far, by the following facts:

1st. There were certain foundations on account of masses which yielded from £3 to £4 a year. These

the Bishops distributed by rotation to such of the priests as were most in need.

2nd. Propaganda often made a timely grant of money for supplying the missions.

3rd. In country places the priest almost always rented a small field which was large enough for a cow's grass and a kitchen garden.

4th. The Bishops had an allowance from Propaganda which, as a matter of necessity, they generally gave up in behalf of the poorer clergy.

In addition to the funds necessary for the maintenance of the missionary priests, comparatively large sums were required, every year, for the outfit and the journeys of ecclesiastical students going to and returning from the foreign colleges.

In the four years immediately preceding the Bishop's visit to Rome these sums amounted to £87 sterling. The Catholic population, it is satisfactory to be able to state, was always increasing ; and this increase required a corresponding increase of the number of priests, which caused a constant diminution of the funds at the disposal of the mission. The clergy were willing, nevertheless, to continue most cordially their pastoral labours. They relied on the charity of the Holy See and the zeal of Propaganda. That congregation had already shown great affection for the poor Scotch mission. Its aid

was now more necessary than ever, and the bishops concluded their petition with the words of the sisters of Lazarus : " Ecce quem amas ægrotat."

The Scotch College at Paris had for some time been in a state of inefficiency as regarded the sending of missionary priests to Scotland. It formed part of the Bishop's commission to petition Propaganda to the effect that it would do something towards restoring that institution to its former usefulness.

Bishop Hay's journey to Rome was happily accomplished, and without any very remarkable incident. When at Brussels he desired to see the Nuncio there ; but His Excellency had gone to Spa. To Spa, accordingly, the Bishop repaired, and was most kindly received by the Nuncio, who gave him the use of rooms in his own house. He was also present at a collation given in the public hall, by Prince Henry of Prussia, to the company assembled at the celebrated watering place. At dinner at the Nuncio's he met the Dutch President and the Princess of Stolberg, mother of the Princess who lived at Rome. At Wirtzburg, he was cordially received by Father Mackenzie of the Scotch monastery there. The day after his arrival he dined with the Prince Bishop, whom he describes in his correspondence, as " a most worthy prelate, who acts much

in the Episcopal character." This great dignitary placed his coach at the disposal of the Scotch Bishop during his stay at Wirtzburg. In about ten days he pursued his journey to Ratisbon, his health improving as he travelled. He was well received by Abbot Arbuthnot; and it was arranged between them that a boy should be kept at Scalan for the monastery, the abbot and Mr. Menzies, O. S. B., paying for him between them. The Bishop made a present of some books for the use of the monastery. Among those which he ordered, at the time, from Coghlan, were the "Sincere Christian Instructed," his work on "Miracles," Butler's "Lives of the Saints," Tytler's "Vindication of Queen Mary," and "Pastorini's letters." On the 15th of October, 1781, he entered Rome for the second time, as a venerable Bishop full of years and honours. Thirty years had elapsed since his first appearance there as a student. What pleasing memories must not the second visit have recalled! What a contrast! Of old, the aspiring student, with no other care than that of gaining knowledge and the delightful labour of acquiring it; now, the aged and careworn man, the pastor of a suffering Church, and yet, by the dignity of his office, and more still, by the inherent dignity of his character, conversing, on a par, with the rulers of mankind; once the humble ecclesiastic, now the

tried diplomatist with diplomatic work in hand that would task the talent and energy of the ablest statesman!

Soon after his arrival in Rome Bishop Hay was favoured with an audience of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VI. He was kindly received, and on the occasion presented a memorial showing the business on which he had come to the city. His next step was to endeavour to gain to his views the Cardinal Protector, Albani. This dignitary was at first opposed to any change in the government of the Scotch College; but he was convinced by there presentations and arguments of the Bishop that the appointment of a national rector would conduce to its usefulness; and he now made every effort to promote this view. He laid the matter before the Pope, hoping that it would be referred to him (Albani) as protector, for settlement. The Holy Father, however, remitted it to Propaganda in order to obtain the opinion of that congregation. There was great opposition and much interest made with the cardinals against the proposed measure. The opposition was only too successful. At a meeting of eleven cardinals of Propaganda, nine pronounced against the change in the college proposed by the Scotch bishops. This decision was fatal to the view which Bishop Hay had so much at heart. It is not difficult to understand

how grievously he was disappointed. Cardinal Albani consoled him, so far, by promising to contrive some way of making the desired appointment as soon as the opposition subsided. The efforts of the good Cardinal did not, however, avail ; and it was forty years from that date before a native of Scotland was appointed to the rectorship of the Scotch College.

The Bishop was more fortunate in his negotiations regarding the *Statuta* and of assistance to the mission. The *Statuta* were at first put into the hands of two canonists in order that they might be examined and search made in all the former decrees of Propaganda relating to Scotland, so that a complete body of regulations might be composed. Having passed through this ordeal, they were conditionally approved and then referred for further examination to a congregation specially appointed by the Holy Father. By this congregation they were formally sanctioned on 3rd April, 1782. Finally they were printed for the use of the Scotch mission by the Propaganda press.

Copies of the Ritual printed by Propaganda were voted for the use of the Scotch mission. Bishop Hay, however, some time afterwards, caused a Ritual which he prepared himself and had printed in London to be approved of by Propaganda. In reply to the petition of the bishops for some additional aid, an annual subsidy of 200 crowns was voted to the mission.

CAP. XXXII.

BISHOP HAY ORDAINS AT ROME—HIS LUGGAGE SEIZED
 —MADE TO PAY SIX GUINEAS BEFORE IT WAS
 RELEASED—PROMOTION OF MGR. ERSKINE—MEET-
 ING AT SCALAN—BISHOP GEDDES PROCURATOR—
 BISHOP HAY PRESENTS £600 TO THE MISSION AND
 £400 TO SCALAN—GRANT BY PROPAGANDA—MR.
 THOMSON AGENT AT ROME—GREAT OPPOSITION—
 THE HOLY FATHER INTERVENES—REFUSAL TO SEND
 STUDENTS TO ROME—ALBANI RETALIATES—THE
 BISHOPS YIELD—RESULTS OF UNCOUTH MANNERS
 —DEATH OF MR. J. FARQUARSON, AGED 83—NEW
 CHURCH AT ABERDEEN—BLACKFRIARS' WYND IN
 1783—CHURCH THERE—BISHOP HAY PREPARES AT
 ABERDEEN, HIS WORK, "THE DEVOUT CHRISTIAN"
 —SCALAN CALLED PATMOS—GREAT DEARTH.

On occasion of the temporary cessation of his negotiations, Bishop Hay held three ordinations in the church of the Scotch College. On December 16th, being the third Sunday in Advent, he conferred sub-deaconship on three of the students, Reginald McEachan, Alexander McDonald and Donald Stuart. He spoke of these young men as being "very promising." On St. Thomas' day, Dec. 21st,

he ordained them Deacons ; and on St. Stephen's day, Dec. 26th, raised them to the Priesthood.

Before leaving Rome, which was not till the third week after Easter, the Bishop sat for his portrait, which continues to be an ornament of the rector's room in the Scotch College. The three young men whom he had ordained accompanied him on his journey homewards, as far as Paris. They left him there and pursued their journey by Douai, Ostend and Newcastle. The Bishop remained a few days longer for the purpose, although not with much hope, of recovering some of the funds belonging to the College of Douai which were still detained, and were likely to be so for an indefinite length of time. His labour was of no avail, notwithstanding the friendly assistance afforded by the Bishop of Rhodéz. On reaching England, the Bishop's luggage, consisting, among other things, of breviaries and other books, relics, beads and models which he had brought with him from Rome, were seized as contraband. This wrongful seizure caused some annoying correspondence with the customs' officials and detained him a few days longer than he wished in London. They made him pay six guineas before giving up his property.

Once more at Edinburgh, the Bishop despatched complimentary letters to the Cardinals Albani and

Antonelli, not forgetting to urge on the former the fulfilment of the promise he had made in favour of the Scotch College. He learned, when at Paris, that a former college companion and friend of his early days, Mr. Charles Erskine, had been appointed *Promoter of the Faith, a Canon of St. Peter's* and a *domestic Prelate* to His Holiness. This promotion called for congratulation. The Bishop wrote accordingly to congratulate his old friend.

The next duty that devolved on Bishop Hay after his return home, was to attend the annual meeting of the Bishops at Scalán in the beginning of August. Their Lordships appear to have had prolonged consultations, as they remained together till the end of the month. It was arranged that Bishop Geddes should reside at Edinburgh as Procurator; being authorized, at the same time, to transact foreign business through the Nuncio at Brussels, the Marchese Busca. At this same meeting, the administrators being present as well as the bishops, Bishop Hay intimated his intention of making the missions a present of the profits arising from the sale of his books and of the money which he had received as compensation for personal loss during the riots of 1779. He presented £600 to the mission fund and £400 to the seminary at Scalán. He well deserved, it will be owned, the thanks of the meeting; and the meeting

cordially thanked him. The meeting heard also with pleasure of the grant which the Cardinals of Propaganda had voted towards the funds of the mission. It was equal to about £48 a year. Such was the increase of the number of priests that, notwithstanding, their means of subsistence were insufficient. It became necessary, in consequence, to seek additional provision. To this end a circular letter was issued requesting contributions.

The meeting over, Bishop Hay went from Scalan to the Enzie, purposing to spend some time with his friends there, and intending to visit Aberdeen by the middle of September. After this he spent a few weeks at Edinburgh for the purpose of communicating to Bishop Geddes all the information necessary for enabling him to discharge efficiently the duties of the Procuratorship.

It was announced, at the meeting of the bishops and administrators, that Mr. Thomson was to be sent to Rome, as had been proposed, to be rector of the Scotch College, as well as assistant and successor to the agent. This appointment was strongly remonstrated against, and by the senior priests. Whilst admitting that he was a good and able man, as well as a lover of study, they objected to his unpolished manners, his awkward address and embarrassed utterance. He could not, they affirmed, but make an

unfavourable impression on all whom long acquaintance had not made aware of his real but hidden merit. It certainly did appear unsuitable to send such a person among people so highly polished and sensitive as the Italians. Both the offices to which he was appointed would require daily the exercise of qualities in which he was wanting. The protesting seniors would have had some one appointed who would have been likely to give the Romans a favourable idea of the nation. Bishop Hay had, generally on former occasions, invited the clergy freely to speak their mind. In the present case he could not be moved. His colleagues even failed to dissuade him. Mr. Thomson received his instructions and prepared for his journey to Rome. Before leaving he wrote a farewell letter in very affecting terms. After expressing the deep regret he felt at leaving his native country, where he had many friends whom he had no hope of seeing again, he continued ; “ But my regret for parting with you is founded on superior motives ; and, believe me, it is one of the severest trials I have met with. In spite of malice, envy, jealousy and prejudice, I shall always preserve an unalterable regard for you. I know the sincerity and uprightness of your conduct and intentions, and have often regretted to see you loaded with unmerited censure for doing your duty. You resemble

the more other great and holy prelates who have been treated in the same manner, and I hope you will persevere with the same firmness." Mr. Thomson enjoyed the satisfaction of carrying with him to Rome the affectionate and grateful remembrance of the congregation at Edinburgh which he had so long and so well served.

Some of the senior priests, meanwhile, who had so strongly protested against the Bishop's appointment at home, had recourse to a very questionable way of making their protest known at Rome. An anonymous letter, full of extravagant abuse of Bishop Hay and Mr. Thomson, was concocted by Dr. Alexander Geddes ; and this letter they concurred in forwarding to the holy city. It arrived opportunely for Cardinal Albani, who, on account of the arrangement he had come to with Bishop Hay, was assailed as soon as it became known, with petitions and remonstrances against the proposed appointment. The English and Irish colleges, especially, made more determined opposition than ever. The Cardinal, under so much pressure, lost courage, and not only gave up all idea of the appointment, but also refused even to admit Mr. Thomson into the College. The anonymous letter had just come in time to furnish him with a pretext for receding from his promise and resolution.

Mr. Thomson no sooner arrived at Rome than he

found the doors of the College closed against him. He applied to the Cardinal Protector, from whom he could get no redress. Matters were so bad with him that he must have starved, but for the goodness of Monsignor Erskine. This most worthy prelate carried his case, without loss of time, before the Holy Father, who immediately ordered that Mr. Thomson should be provided with board and lodging in the Scotch College. In the course of a few months the agent went home in order to visit his friends, and deputed Mr. Thomson to act for him while absent, allowing him, at the same time, a share of his salary. Not long afterwards, through the death of Abbate Grant, Mr. Thomson was charged with the duties and enjoyed the income of the agent. He was now, as far as he was personally concerned, above heeding the petty persecution of the rector of the College. By inciting the students to treat him with discourtesy, the rector gave a lesson which was only too well learned. Discipline became relaxed. Several young men lost their vocations and left the College. The bishops remonstrated and petitioned for a remedy; but in vain. They resolved, at last, to send no more students. This was hard on Albani. He must retaliate; and the reprisals he adopted, it will be owned, were far from being justifiable. He suspended payment of the income arising

from the legacy of the Chevalier St. George to the Scotch seminaries. *Tantæne animis cœlestibus Iræ?* The Bishops sacrificed their just resentment to the public good ; and continued to send students.

Mr. Thomson's uncouth manners caused, ere long, his breaking with the Cardinal Protector. One day, when on the subject of the rector-ship, an altercation arose, when Mr. Thomson expressed very freely, and not in the politest language, his opinion of Albani's conduct. His Eminence determined to see him no more ; and so ended all hope of a native rector being appointed to the Scotch College.

Bishop Hay was grievously disappointed. We find him, however, at this time, visiting his parishioners at Traquair, Dundee, etc ; and in this pastoral occupation, he, no doubt, found distraction and comfort. About the same time the abbot of the Scotch monastery at Ratisbon showed his interest in the mission by sending his congratulations on occasion of its affairs being entrusted to the management of so able a prelate as Bishop Geddes.

There died this year, at his residence in Bræmar, his native place, where he had chiefly resided since the suppression of his order, the Reverend Father John Farquarson, aged eighty-three.

On Christmas eve, 1782, a new chapel, or church, was opened at Aberdeen. It was pronounced the

best that had been raised in Scotland since the "Reformation." The Bishop expressed his hope, he could not yet have certainty, "with the blessing of God, to enjoy quiet possession."

The following year Edinburgh resolved to emulate the northern city and provide a suitable church for its congregation. Direful experience had taught the Bishops and the parishioners that a retired corner was not the place for it. Nor was it considered safe to have a separate building. Accordingly they looked for a house in a populous quarter which might be made to suit their purpose by making alterations. It will surprise the modern reader to learn that Blackfriars' Wynd was the locality chosen. But it will be remembered that the Blackfriar's Wynd of 1783 was very different from the Blackfriars' Wynd of to-day. At the former period it was the abode of rank and fashion. The house which the Bishops selected had many advantages. None could have been more conveniently situated as regarded access from all parts of the city; and the population of the historic Wynd had long been familiar with the presence of a Catholic chapel. The house consisted of three stories, the uppermost of which it was proposed to purchase, and by raising the walls to provide a chapel sufficiently lofty, immediately under the roof. At the time of the purchase the first floor

of the house was occupied by a lady of family, Mrs. Hamilton, of Belhaven, commonly called "Lady Pencaitland," who also had a small garden adjoining the house. The next floor was inhabited by two maiden ladies, Miss Jean and Miss Isabell Cockburn, daughters of the deceased Sir James Cockburn. Lady Pencaitland made strong opposition to the roof being raised. The owner, Mr. Buchanan, a lace weaver, although friendly, dreading injury to his lace business by offending the good lady, declined taking any steps towards obtaining legal permission for the purchaser of his property to build. Application was then made to the Dean of Guild to make the necessary changes. A competent party who was sent to inspect, reported favourably, and leave to raise the walls was duly granted. The agents of the ladies carried the case into the Court of Session. But to no purpose. The judges dismissed their appeal, on security being found that neither the walls of the house, nor the little garden should suffer, and that the uppermost floor should not be divided into small rooms to be let to poor tenants. Mr. Christie, the house agent employed to treat with Mr. Buchanan, completed the purchase by paying him the price, £175, and immediately made over the property to Mr. McNab, who acted for the Bishops and who, at once, transferred it to them by a formal deed. In

making the alterations referred to, the appearance of a dwelling house, with chimneys, was retained. A room about fifty feet long and twenty-five broad occupied the whole length and breadth of the new floor. This room was the chapel. The public had access to it by the common turret stair which connected the stories of the house with one another. A small wooden stair inside the dwelling house, in the floor below the chapel, formed a private approach for the clergy.

The onerous duties of a parish priest fell to the share of Bishop Hay during the early months of this year, his assistant, the Rev. Paul McPherson, being in delicate health. He found time, however, for his favourite theological studies, and he made good use of it in preparing the work which was, at first, called the second part of "The Devout Christian." A room, lighted by a skylight, in the presbytery of Aberdeen, is shown as the place where he studied and wrote, when resident at the City of the North. The angel of the schools, Saint Thomas Aquinas, was the theologian on whom he most relied. His correspondence, meanwhile, was not neglected; and it required to be actively conducted, as the subjects were the Scotch College at Rome; and the Neapolitan Abbacies, together with discussions by letter, on money matters and the business of the mission, with

his coadjutor and others. He wrote at this time, about some recreative excursions which he enjoyed, and by which his health was benefitted. He spoke in a pleasant style, of going on a visit to "Patmos" (Scalan;) and mingling pleasure with business, *Miscuit seria ludo*, he journeyed to Fetternear, in order to baptize a daughter of Mr. Leslie, the Laird of that place. Once arrived there, he found that pleasure must give way to duty, a whole winter's work awaiting him—the instruction and preparation for confirmation of several recent converts in that locality which was destined to become famous in the annals of the Church. Such duty was pleasure in comparison with the more arduous duties which the severity of the season laid upon him. There was much suffering, and the scarcity pressed heavily on the poorer class of people. The Bishop was applied to from all quarters. Town and country alike had recourse to him. His charity was equal to the pressure, and he was able to meet its many demands by making available funds that would otherwise have remained undisturbed. The dearth of the time may be conceived, when it is stated that it was scarcely possible to procure oatmeal, at any price, for the use of the community at Scalan.

CAP. XXXIII.

BISHOP GEDDES AT EDINBURGH—"SOCIETY" UN-
 FRIENDLY TO BISHOP HAY—BISHOP GEDDES CON-
 CILIATORY—THE CLERGY IN THE NORTH SUFFER-
 ING FROM SCARCITY—RELIEF BY BISHOP HAY—
 THE HOLY OILS—POCKET MONEY TO STUDENTS
 FAVOURED BY BISHOP GEDDES WHO OVERCOMES
 BISHOP HAY'S OPPOSITION—DISPENSATIONS—
 RESERVED CASES—BISHOP GEDDES AND THE
 ANTIQUARIES—AN EXECUTION ATTENDED—GROW-
 ING LIBERALITY—"CAUSE CELEBRE"—MISS GOR-
 DON OF ACHANACHY—UNANIMOUS DECISION—
 BISHOP HAY DECLINES DEALING WITH A NEW
 BANK—LORD PETRE EFFACING A CALUMNY.

The arrangement, by which it was agreed that Bishop Geddes should reside at Edinburgh, was singularly opportune and beneficial. No man could have been better qualified to second the movement in favour of Catholics that had been in progress ever since the riots of 1774. It is a sad fact, but, nevertheless true, that people who inflict injury hate the injured party. Hence the populace of the capital who had so grievously wronged Bishop Hay, necessarily had an aversion to him. In consequence it

would not have been safe for him to appear publicly for a considerable time. Latterly this unfavourable state of feeling had, in great measure, died out, and the Bishop, as has been shown, could discharge, without fear of molestation, both episcopal and parochial duties. This was far, however, from being an object of popular favour. Nor was the Bishop calculated to court such favour, any more than he cared to do so. Notwithstanding his sternness of manner, he gained the good will of all the eminent persons with whom he came in contact in the course of his negotiations. But those men of high education and ability judged not as "society" is apt to judge, by mere manners and forms of speech. "Society," however, is a power, and a very great power in every community. To conciliate this power was an important object with the friends of those people who were still more or less under persecution. To carry out this policy, if policy it may be called, of conciliation, a man of the gentle character and urbane manners of Bishop Geddes was eminently suited. It might be supposed that since the union of the crowns, and still more since the union of the Parliaments of the United Kingdoms, "society" had emigrated to the British metropolis. But this was far from being the case. Many heads of ancient families, together with scions of Scotland's nobility, had their abode, at the time of

which there is question, in the Scottish capital. It was of no slight importance, when the transition from hostile to more kindly feelings was taking place, to cultivate the acquaintance of such parties. Many of them, though strongly Protestant, following the fashion of the time, could not fail to remember that their forefathers were Catholics, and they held it to be an honour as well as a pleasure to converse with such a representative Catholic as Bishop Geddes, whose dignity, demeanour and accomplishments entitled him to associate with them. The Bishop loved his religion and his flock too well to allow such opportunities to pass unimproved; and, thus, although at the cost of much valuable time, lessening the prevailing prejudices. It does not appear that either his episcopal duties or the cares of his procuratorship suffered any serious loss or inconvenience. Bishop Hay, who relied more on his theological learning and inexorable logic, thought, at one time, and so represented to his friend Bishop Geddes, that it was a loss of time to attend so much to social amenities.

Nevertheless, there never was such neglect of either episcopal or financial duties as to induce him to appoint another Procurator, or seek a more attentive and helpful coadjutor. There was not even the slightest breach of the long standing friendship that had subsisted between the two prelates.

It is a melancholy fact in connection with the national famine to which allusion has been made, that several priests in the North were suffering from scarcity of food, whilst others were constitutionally delicate and little able to bear the hardships of their position. The Bishop, in consequence, wrote from Aberdeen to his coadjutor, asking him to procure at Edinburgh some supplies and send them to him at his (Bishop Hay's) expense, and to some of the clergy, through a merchant at Aberdeen.

An additional proof of the difficulties of the time is presented by the fact that it was impossible to bring together at Aberdeen a sufficient number of priests for the consecration of the holy oils. This rite, must, therefore, be performed at Edinburgh, where the difficulty was scarcely less considerable. The Bishop made a suggestion by informing his coadjutor how he himself had been accustomed to discharge this necessary duty. He sometimes began at an early hour in the morning, and thus allowed the assistant priests to attend to their congregations at the usual hour; sometimes the function was deferred until the public services were all concluded.

Bishop Geddes who, for so many years, had been the successful principal of an important educational institution, held the opinion that it was advisable to allow students at college the use of a little pocket money.

Bishop Hay, insisting on stricter discipline, held the opposite view. He was, however, so far convinced by the arguments of his learned and experienced coadjutor, that he was induced to say : “Whether the giving money to the boys in college be an expedient measure is a point on which we seem to differ in our opinion ; whether it were advisable for me to take any steps to hinder it is another point in which I yield entirely to your reasons.”

As regarded certain dispensations the Bishops were of the same opinion. They disapproved of publishing a general dispensation from the strict law of fasting during Lent. But power was given by the chief Bishop to the priests of the mission to grant special dispensations to private parties, whenever they should in conscience, consider them necessary. These dispensations extended to the law of abstinence so as to admit of using flesh meat on three days of the week, till Palm Sunday, but not in Ember week. Some good work was always required in place of fasting. The Bishop did not wish to be thought to hold the proclamation of banns before marriage indispensable, as the Church does not require that there should be no exceptions. He insisted very much on these proclamations at the commencement of his career at Edinburgh, the neglect of them being calculated to favour abuses. He now gave to his coadjutor full

authority to grant dispensation from the said proclamations, whenever he should, conscientiously, consider it advisable.

Mr. Menzies, who has already been mentioned as pastor of the Highland congregation of Edinburgh, applied for faculties in a reserved case, to the Bishop, through the coadjutor. The latter could himself have imparted the necessary faculties; and this the Bishop showed him by referring to the original *Statuta*, which were recently confirmed by the Holy See. The words are: "*In quibus omnibus casibus Presbyteri, præterquam in articulo mortis, consilium a nobis et facultatem absolvendi petituri recurrant.*" The Bishop adds: "*Ubi verba a nobis tum Vicarios ipsos, tum etiam deputatos includant, necesse est, quoniam ad nos, vel illos recurrere judicentur. Et hoc concilio tibi coadjutori meo, omnes facultates, quoad forum internum, quas ipse possideo, jam ab initio concessi, iterumque concedo.*"

This year, 1783, was founded at Edinburgh the Antiquarian Society of Scotland. Many gentlemen of the country took an interest in this new institution. Bishop Geddes did not fail to avail himself of so good an opportunity of extending his acquaintance, whilst, at the same time, promoting an object to which it was so pleasing to him to give his countenance and support. At a meeting of the society he presented

to the library a copy of Leslie's History of Scotland, when it was suggested to him by Lord Buchan, that he should present the world with a biography of the good Bishop of Ross.

A less agreeable duty now fell to the Bishop's lot,—that of preparing a prisoner for execution. It marks the growing liberality of the time that the magistrates afforded him every facility for visiting his penitent. The unfortunate man gave proof of all the dispositions becoming his situation. To use the Bishop's own words: "He went decently to death and gave great edification to all."

Bishop Geddes was always ready to assist his fellow Catholics in whatever circumstances of difficulty they might be placed. This year a case occurred which awakened his zeal and gave exercise to his ability as a negotiator or diplomatist. The case was that of Miss Gordon of Achanachy,—Achanachy, whose ancient castle had so long afforded a home and protection to the clergy in times of trial and persecution, a large room therein being set apart for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries. It must be noted here that John Gordon of Achanachy, the uncle and predecessor of the said Miss Gordon, had sold the estate to the Duke of Gordon and received from him a long lease on condition of paying to his Grace a moderate rent. This lease was the object

of dispute between Miss Gordon, who claimed, as the daughter of George Gordon, next brother of John Gordon, and Rose of Pluscardine, who claimed as the nearest Protestant heir. It being possible that, according to the penal laws, the latter was entitled to succeed, Bishop Geddes considered it necessary to use influence in high quarters. Accordingly he obtained a letter of introduction from Bishop Hay to the Lord advocate. He also requested Principal Robertson to favour him with a personal introduction. One morning, the Principal having cheerfully consented, he breakfasted with this worthy gentleman and then proceeded with him to wait upon the Lord Advocate. He was well received, and a promise given that His Lordship would do everything in his power in the case of Miss Gordon. The Bishop, moreover, was kindly invited to renew his visit. This he soon did in order still more strongly to urge his suit. He was received with even greater cordiality than at his first visit, and the promise was repeated that no effort would be spared. Men of the state seldom forget politics, and the Lord Advocate took occasion to enquire how he stood with the Bishop's people. The latter replied that he was in high favour and not without cause. The case came first before Lord Eskgrove, who, remarking that it was one of great nicety, referred it to the inner court, or whole bench

of Judges. Mr. Abercrombie, Miss Gordon's counsel, drew up an able pleading, which was shown to Bishop Geddes for his revision, before it was printed for the use of the judges. The services of the Lord Advocate were also retained. When the case came for hearing before the court, there were ten judges present. They were unanimous in their decision *that a Catholic could succeed to and enjoy a lease of land in Scotland, on equal terms with a Protestant.* The framers of the penal laws must have forgot to have it enacted that land held by lease should be subject to the same disability as that which is actually owned. Another great difficulty in Miss Gordon's case had been got over. In early youth, she had been sent for her education to a convent at Paris. Somehow on leaving the convent she had become governess in a family which she accompanied to Ireland. It was, for a long time unknown to her family what had become of her. A cousin made diligent search, and at last found her at Dublin, in a state of great destitution. During the time that she was missing, Adam Gordon, a younger brother of her father and of John Gordon, who had been an officer in the Neapolitan army, enjoyed, for about ten years, the lease of Achānachy. It would have been difficult, if at all possible, to prove Miss Gordon's identity, but for the fortunate circumstance

of a lady who had been educated in the convent at Paris with her, meeting her in London, and, at once, recognizing her as her former school companion, Betsy Gordon.

There was question, at this time, of placing some mission funds in a new bank of Aberdeen. Bishop Hay, however, declined, chiefly on the ground that he already had relations with the Bank of Scotland. It is interesting to note that on occasion of the discussion which took place on this matter, the Bishop gave a statement of his own financial affairs. In one of his letters on the subject of the new bank, he says, "You know I have not twopence of personal property ; my yearly income dies with myself ; and though there be several sums paid out in my name, yet, I am only trustee for others, to whom they belong."

In speaking of our Bishops and other good Catholics, it is almost out of place to introduce the name of Lord George Gordon, the degenerate scion of an illustrious and Catholic house. But the narrative would not be complete without showing that it so happened, when this hopeful personage was engaged preparing a vindication of his conduct during the riots which he had excited, that Lord Petre, a Catholic, in a conversation with Lord George, had spoken to him of Bishop Hay, as a

rash, meddling and turbulent person. Lord George published the substance of his conversation in a London paper. The Catholic peer, who, it must be supposed, had only been talking to a fool in the language of his folly, was grievously ashamed to see his remarks laid before the public, and accordingly, he bought up the whole impression of the paper containing them, and used every means of hushing up the matter before it reached the Bishop's ears. There are officious people, however, who take care that no good thing shall be lost. Some such person imparted the unsavoury remarks to Bishop Hay, but could not send him a copy of the paper, which was not to be found. The Bishop was under the impression that the ill-natured words had originated with Dr. A. Geddes, as they were much in the style of his attacks. Bishop Geddes, however, assured him that this was a mistake, and that Dr. A. Geddes was certainly not the authority from which proceeded the conversation published by Lord George Gordon.

CAP. XXXIV.

MR. JOHN REID ATTACKS THE BISHOP—AIDED BY A ONCE FRIENDLY MINISTER—KINDNESS OF BISHOP HAY TO THE CLERGY—HE COMPLETES “THE DEVOUT CHRISTIAN” ABBATE GRANT IN SCOTLAND—DEATH OF MR. J. PATERSON, PRESIDENT OF SCALAN—NEW LEASE OBTAINED—THE SCOTCH COLLEGE OF ROME—CATHOLICS OF THE HIGHLANDS 3,000 MORE THAN AT THE FORMER VISITATION—BISHOP HAY DOES PAROCHIAL DUTY FROM DEE TO DEVEON—THE LATE MR. GODSMAN—THE CHIEF GORDON FAMILY STILL FRIENDLY—MR. BURKE AT EDINBURGH—THE NEW CHURCH, ST. MARGARETS’ OPENED—THE BISHOPS MEET AT SCALAN—A NATIONAL RECTOR FOR ROMAN COLLEGE STILL INSISTED ON.

It is not to be wondered at that a man like Lord George Gordon should have uttered rash words against the character of Bishop Hay ; but it is, indeed, surprising that any of the clergy in whose cause he laboured so assiduously, and, it must be added, with so much success, should have spoken hardly of him. This was done, however, and in a very marked manner, by Mr. John Reid. This priest having heard a rumour that the bishop intended to reside at

Preshome, wrote an indignant remonstrance to Bishop Geddes, deprecating such a purpose, and indulging in most bitter invective against Bishop Hay on account of various alleged foibles and errors. It was less astonishing that he should be disliked by Presbyterian ministers. The concluding chapters of his "Sincere Christian" account for this dislike. One of these ministers, who had been his friend, Mr. Geo. Grant, of Rathven, wrote, at the same time as Mr. Reid, to Bishop Geddes, a fault finding letter which was, indeed, calmer in tone, but equally bitter, inveighing against Bishop Hay, his bigotry and the spirit of his recent controversial work. There is some excuse for the minister, as the *odium theologicum* must have been stirred up in no ordinary degree. But the Bishop's tender solicitude for the welfare of the clergy shows that he was wholly undeserving of the reproaches of Mr. Reid. There are numerous instances on record of his kindness to priests who were disabled from age or infirmity. The case of the chaplain at Traquair, the aged Mr. Cruikshanks, is one among many. The family of Traquair were about to break up their establishment with a view to reside, for some time, abroad. Bishop Hay, hearing of this arrangement, wrote a kind letter to Mr. Cruikshanks, desiring to know how he could serve him in the circumstances. The venerable priest had

promised to see Bishop Geddes and consult with him. "This, however," wrote the senior Bishop, "does not entirely satisfy me, because I wish to have the pleasure myself of showing my affection for you in the present emergency ; and, therefore, I beg you will let me know what would be agreeable to yourself and what it is in my power to do for you. I do not propose your having any charge ; your state of health and infirmities prevent that ; but would you wish to be here with me ? I shall make you very welcome. Would you wish to stay with your niece at Clochin ? I shall help to make that easy for you. Only let me know, my dear sir, what would be agreeable to you, and be assured that I shall be happy to show my affection and regard for you, as much as I can, to your satisfaction."

Bishop Hay spent part of his time, this summer, 1783, in completing his work, "the Devout Christian." He also undertook journeying on foot to the northern parts of his district. He was favoured with fine weather ; and his health improved so much that he became fond of this way of travelling. He visited the Enzie, and then proceeded to Aberlour, Sheuval and Scalan, where Bishop MacDonald was to meet him about the middle of August. About the same time Bishop Geddes left Edinburgh in order to join the Bishops at Scalan, their usual place of meeting.

Meanwhile Abbate Grant arrived from Rome in order to visit his relatives ; and he accompanied the Bishop on his northern tour. The agent was largely acquainted with the nobility and gentry of Scotland, to whom he had shown civility at Rome. Together with the Bishop, he paid a visit at Belmont castle, the seat of the Lord Privy Seal. This statesman entertained them very cordially and showed them his gardens and fine observatory. Here the Bishop took leave of Abbate Grant and pursued his journey alone.

This year, when the Bishops met at Scalan, occurred the death of the worthy president of the seminary, Mr. John Paterson. When on his death-bed, he held a long conversation with Bishop Geddes, and earnestly advised him to secure a renewal of the lease of Scalan. The Bishop lost no time in acting on this advice. The Duke of Gordon, who owned the property, was, at the time, staying at his shooting lodge of Glenfiddich, not far from Scalan. Bishop Geddes repaired to that place, saw the Duke of Gordon, and obtained from him a renewal of the lease. On his return next day, August 20, he found Mr. Paterson worse,—so ill as to have had the last rites administered to him. The tide of life was ebbing fast ; but he was still cheerful and possessed of all his faculties throughout the day. In the

afternoon he fell into a lethargy and passed away between ten and eleven o'clock at night. Mr. Paterson had been greatly esteemed by the bishops and the clergy generally. He was, accordingly, much regretted. Bishop Hay shewed his sympathy and regard by the way in which he spoke of him. When intimating the good priest's death to the young man who accompanied him on his journey, he shewed extraordinary regard and affection. Wringing his hands, he exclaimed: "O John, John, we have lost our head!"

The Scotch College at Rome appears to have been the chief subject of the deliberations of the Bishops at their meeting. This institution, which ought to have been highly advantageous to the mission, was still in a very unsatisfactory condition. Strong representations were addressed to the Cardinal Protector and the Cardinals of Propaganda; but, as formerly, they prevailed not. No wonder if the Bishops now seriously entertained a measure they had, some time ago, had in contemplation,—that of declining to send any more students to the College.

The statement by Bishop Macdonald of the condition of the Highland district afforded a more cheering subject for consideration. He had the pleasure to report that there was an increase of three thousand in the number of Catholics in his vicariate, since his last visitation.

Bishop Hay now appears as the donor of a fund for the relief of the poorer clergy ; and writes to his coadjutor, discussing the distribution of this fund as if a Mr. Neiluad (Daulien) had presented the same. He was indifferent as to whether the coadjutor or himself should have the credit of making the donation. If it appear to come from the former and attract to him the affection of the priests deriving benefit, he will be as well pleased as if the gift were known to proceed from himself, as the same amount of good would be derived from the clergy being attached to the coadjutor as to himself. This is more than the revilers of the Bishop could have expected. It shows, however, like all the rest of his conduct, how unjustified they were in their attack upon him. It would even be more gratifying to him, he wrote, if the good he hoped for appeared to arise from attachment to the coadjutor, as he considered himself unworthy of being an instrument in the hands of God for doing any good.

Early in November of this year, the new house in Blackfriars' Wynd was ready for occupation. It only remained to remove the furniture from Bishop Geddes' residence in Dickson's close. This was speedily done, and on the 7th November the Bishop enjoyed the comfort of his new dwelling. The house was tolerably commodious, there being three rooms with

fire places, as many well-lighted closets and a good kitchen on one floor. The Chapel, Sacristy and Library were on the floor above; and there was a good garret. The Chapel could not be ready for use sooner than the following summer. Bishop Hay wrote to impart his blessing and wish his coadjutor much joy in the new house.

So numerous and pressing were the occupations of Bishop Geddes at this time, that he was obliged to decline taking charge of Bishop Hay's accounts. It was now necessary that Abbe Paul McPherson should take charge at Stobhall. This change laid on Bishop Hay the parochial duties of Aberdeen. He undertook them cheerfully, his time no less than his money being always so employed as best to serve the cause of religion.

The failing health of Mr. Robert Grant, the Principal of the Scotch College at Douai, induced him to repair to London in order to consult the physicians there. His brother, the Abbate, who had gone from England to spend the winter at Douai, accompanied him. Notwithstanding all that was done for him, he became daily worse, and at last, having received the sacraments of the dying, he departed this life in the house of Dr. Alexander Geddes, his brother, the Abbate, assisting him in his last moments. He was very much and justly re-

gretted. He was distinguished by his piety and good sense, whilst to his gentleman-like accomplishments was chiefly due the success of his negotiations for the recovery of the College at Douai. It was difficult to find a competent successor. A Mr. Young was mentioned; but he positively declined to accept. Dr. Alexander Geddes was proposed and had the active support of the Abbate Grant. As may be supposed, however, he was not acceptable to the Bishops. Finally, the election fell on Mr. John Farquarson, who was, at the time, President of Scalán. Mr. Alexander Farquarson, recently arrived from Rome, replaced him in the Presidency of Scalán.

There was question now of having a general dispensation at the beginning of Lent as was the recognized practice among the English Catholics. Their circumstances, however, were so different from those of the Scotch Catholics, that the Bishops judged it expedient to authorize the priests to grant dispensations in private as might be necessary. At this date, we meet with the first mention of the "boy Andrew Carruthers"—who preceded Dr. Gillis as Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District. There was question of sending him to Douai; and he was sent there accordingly.

Bishop Hay was averse to granting any dispensation when it could be avoided. In the case of a proposed mixed marriage, Mr. Reid of Preshome, asked for one. In according it the Bishop desired that Mr. Reid should explain to his congregation that it was granted because the woman was poor, and dependent for her support on her own exertions. It was also made a condition that the husband should offer no hindrance to her in the exercise of her religion, and that he should let her have the children, or at least the daughters, if he can be induced to do so. There is greater strictness even than this in Canada. It is absolutely required, in such cases, that *all* the children should be brought up as Catholics. It was remarked, as a characteristic of this faithful pastor, that he was more ready to grant dispensations to the poor than to the rich. A notable instance of this disposition is on record. A gentleman of Galloway, a friend of the Bishop, applied for a dispensation in favour of his chaplain, who was an aged and infirm ex-Jesuit. He pleaded the age and infirmities of the good priest and the difficulty in this part of the country of obtaining fish and other abstinence food. He accompanied his application with a request on his own behalf for a similar indulgence for himself and his family. It must be observed that this gentleman was stout and healthy. So,

the Bishop, in his reply, willingly allowed what was asked for, in favour of the aged priest ; but said, at the same time, that he knew no one more likely than his friend to derive benefit from occasional fasting and abstinence.

As illustrative of the difficulties and hardships of the comparatively small number of clergy in Scotland at the time of which we are writing, it may be mentioned, that, on occasion of the retirement in consequence of a stroke of paralysis, of an aged and worthy ex-Jesuit, who had laboured for a long time in Buchan, an extensive district in the north of Aberdeenshire, Bishop Hay himself was under the necessity of taking charge of the mission there. It was not long till he experienced the difficulties which awaited him.....On the 1st of March, he was called to baptize a child in Buchan. The journey from Aberdeen was a pretty long one ; and the Bishop was obliged to perform twenty-one miles of it on foot, owing to a deep fall of snow, which rendered travelling on horseback impossible. The laborious duty occupied three days. He did not, however, suffer in his health from so much fatigue. But he could not but look forward to similar journeys, as there was none but himself to answer the calls of the parishioners in the whole country, extending between the rivers Deveron and Dee.

In digging a grave for a deceased student who had returned from Paris in bad health . . . the parties employed came upon the coffin of Mr. Godsmán. Partly from curiosity and partly from affection for their late pastor, the people attending the student's funeral, caused it to be opened; and wonderful to relate, the body of the venerable priest whom they loved so well was found to have undergone scarcely any change after being fifteen years in the grave. The news spread rapidly throughout the Enzie; and many parishioners came to look once more on the countenance of him whom they had revered so much in life. The late Bishop Scott, then about twelve years of age, whose father's house at Chapelford was close at hand, was among the number; and in after life related the extraordinary circumstance to his friends. The Rev. Mr. Mathison of Auchenthalrig made a strict examination, and found the body to be in a state of wonderful preservation, showing no sign of corruption except that the lower jaw was fallen down upon the breast. But, does not falling down of the lower jaw always take place immediately after death? The coffin was still entire. But the linen and the chips of wood within it were all consumed. The dryness of the soil in St. Ninian's cemetery, it was generally believed, accounted sufficiently for the wonderful preservation of the body. This opinion

was fully confirmed some years later when the remains were found to be decaying.

On occasion of visiting his sister in the Enzie, Bishop Hay happened to meet the Duchess of Gordon; and this is a fact connected with the history of the relations of Catholics with Protestants, of sufficient importance to be recorded, particularly as the illustrious chief family of Gordon was no longer Catholic. The celebrated lady, Duchess Jane of Gordon, desired to make the acquaintance of Bishop Hay, and politely invited him to Gordon Castle.

As his time was limited, he was obliged to excuse himself. On which the duchess asked him to pay the visit next time he was in the country. It is known that he did so. On one occasion he went with the intention of staying only one night, but was prevailed upon to prolong his visit till the third or fourth day. This was proof of friendly relations. The Bishop did wisely to cultivate and improve them, the more so as the Duke of Gordon had recently renewed the lease of Scalan and, in other ways, showed kindness to Catholics.

The celebrated Mr. Burke, on a journey northward, was at Edinburgh the first week of April. Bishop Geddes went to visit him and was most cordially received. The great statesman asked in the kindest manner for Bishop Hay and desired that his most

respectful compliments should be sent to him. He returned the visit of Bishop Geddes on the following day.

It says much for the improved state of feeling at Edinburgh as regarded Catholics, that Bishop Geddes could take possession, without the slightest molestation, of the new chapel in Blackfriars' Wynd. June 10th, St. Margaret's Day, and also the day on which fell the festival of Corpus Christi, the chapel was occupied, for the first time, by the Catholic congregation. It was called St. Margaret's, and had cost a great deal. The seat rents, however, were more than sufficient to meet the expenditure. They yielded double the usual amount of interest on the money laid out; and, in less than two hours, on the day fixed for letting them, they were paid for the first half year, all but a few shillings.

The time for the meeting of the Bishops at Scalan was now at hand. They deemed it one of their most important duties to insist, in their report to Rome on the necessity of making a change in the management of the Scotch College.

They earnestly represented that nothing could restore it to usefulness but the appointment of a national rector. The scarcity of priests in Scotland was such, Bishop Hay wrote to Cardinal Antonelli, that he (the Bishop) was obliged to spend two weeks

out of every six in making a circuit of forty miles among the Catholics of a district in which there was no pastor. The Bishops also wrote a joint letter to Mr. Thomson, directing and encouraging him under the difficulties and trials of his unfortunate position. He had all their sympathy, and that was, so far, compensation to him. His pecuniary circumstances were somewhat improved by the temporary absence of the agent. On the death of this worthy person in the autumn, he was still further relieved, having succeeded to the office of agent.

CAP. XXXV.

DEATH OF MR. ROBT. GRANT, OF DOUAI COLLEGE—ABBATE GRANT ALSO DIES—MURAL MONUMENT ERECTED BY HIS FRIENDS, THE EARL OF BUTE AND THE EARL'S BROTHER, STEWART M'KENZIE, LORD PRIVY SEAL—CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF THE ABBATE—ACCIDENT TO BISHOP HAY—BISHOP GEDDES AT FORDUN—THE CARDINAL DUKE OF YORK EVER MINDFUL OF SCOTLAND—A REMARKABLE CONVERSION, THE REWARD OF BISHOP GEDDES' FASCINATING PIETY—BISHOP GEDDES HIGHLY ESTEEMED—THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY—UNPLEASANT RESULTS OF "ECCENTRICITY"—BOTH CHURCHES OPEN—AT ABERDEEN DANGER OF A RIOT—BISHOP HAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE TROUBLE—INTOLERANCE—A CASE IN THE HIGHLANDS—TRYING LABOURS IN THE HIGHLANDS—NEW ATTACKS ON THE BISHOP—DEATH OF REV. WM. REID—BISHOP HAY'S LIBERILITY.

The death of Mr. Robert Grant, the Rector of Douai College, was a severe shock to his brother, the Abbate, agent of the Scotch Mission at Rome. When at Douai, on his way back to Rome, the Abbate proposed spending a few days with Principal

Gordon, of the Scotch College at Paris. The eccentric Principal, however, to his great surprise and mortification, forbade him access to the College. There did not appear to be any cause for such rudeness. On the contrary, the Abbate had in former years done good service to the College, uniformly defending it against its enemies and calumniators. There had, indeed, been disputes between the Principal and the Scotch Bishops. But, Abbate Grant, living at a distance, had no part in them. Principal Gordon's strange conduct appears to have been attributed, at the time, to aberation of mind. This is all the more probable, as his brother, it will be remembered, had to be taken care of, having become decidedly insane.

The Abbate was in poor health when he arrived at Rome. Notwithstanding, instead of resting, as he would have required to do, after the fatigue of his journey and the trials he had experienced, he immediately began to visit his numerous friends. The consequence of this imprudence was a severe attack of dysentery and inflammation, which defied all remedies, and caused his death in the 74th year of his age (September 1st.) It is almost superfluous to say that, although habitually delirious during his illness, he availed himself of the lucid moments he enjoyed to receive the sacraments of the dying and make an

edifying preparation for his latter end. He was buried in the parish church of Piazza Navona ; and a mural monument in marble was erected to his memory in the church of the Scotch College by his intimate friends, the Earl of Bute and the Earl's brother, James Stewart McKenzie, at the time, Lord Privy Seal. It will not be denied that the urbane manners and obliging disposition of the agent, Abbate Grant were highly advantageous to Scotland. Many Englishmen of distinction, both Catholic and Protestant, were favourably impressed, and thought better of Scotland and the remnant of its ruined church, for the kind attention extended to them by the Abbate Grant. He was an honourable man, and an honour as well as an ornament to his country. He enjoyed, and most deservedly, throughout his forty-five years of office, the esteem and regard of the Bishops of Scotland. He was, also, in high favour with Pope Clement XIV., and would probably have been raised to the dignity of Cardinal if that Pontiff had lived. Can we then honour too much the memory of the man who served his country so well, by discharging faithfully, and with credit, the duties of his office for nearly half a century ; and who, finally died at his post ?

In returning from Scalan Bishop Hay visited his Catholic friends at Aberlour on the Spey. While

there, it happened that he fell on the stairs. At first the accident appeared to be slight, and gave him little trouble at the time. Afterwards, however, he complained of severe pain in his side which it occasioned, and which made it very difficult for him to write. He, in consequence, abandoned all composition. In other respects he was more fortunate. Mr. James Cameron came to Aberdeen to assist him, and not only relieved him of parochial duties, but also helped him with his correspondence. The Buchan mission was, at the same time, provided with a resident priest; and, in consequence, there was no longer any necessity for the Bishop's fatiguing journeys to that district. Mr. James Robertson, O. S. B., had returned from the Scotch monastery at Ratisbon, and was appointed to the charge—an appointment which shews that the monastery was still efficient as a Scotch institution.

Bishop Geddes, after parting with the chief Bishop at Aberdeen, paid a visit, along with Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, at Monboddò. He was there, of course, a welcome visitor. He also went to Fordun in Kincardineshire—a place rendered forever memorable by the historian, Joannes Fordunensis. Being there, the Bishop could not fail to visit the church of St. Palladius. He describes it as romantic and venerable, adding that it called up in his mind many serious reflections.

Allusion must sometimes be made to His Royal Highness, the Cardinal, Duke of York. He never failed to take an interest in the Church and Catholics of Scotland. He was particularly attentive to Mr. Thomson on occasion of Abbate Grant's death. His attention was so marked that Bishop Hay considered himself called upon to address a letter of thanks to the good and eminent Cardinal. His Eminence had used his influence, and successfully, in order to obtain that the salary which Abbate Grant had enjoyed should be continued to Mr. Thomson, who succeeded him as agent. Bishop Hay looked upon this service as done not only to himself, but also to his colleagues and all the Catholics of Scotland. "I think it my duty," he says in his letter of thanks, "to testify to your Royal Highness the grateful sense I have of this favour, and to return you my hearty thanks, both in my own name and in the name of all our body, as any act of kindness done to one we must consider as redounding to us all."

A circumstance now occurred which admirably showed the power of charitable and conciliatory manners. This was a remarkable conversion, which, next to the grace of God, was due to the gentle piety of Bishop Geddes. Mr. Austin Jennison, once a member of the Society of Jesus, and chaplain to a noble family in the South of England, had renounced

his faith and become notorious as a popular preacher, in connection with the Scotch Episcopalians, first at Aberdeen, and afterwards at Leith. It was his good fortune, however, to be restored to the fold. There is no record of any other outward means being employed in bringing about his reconciliation to the Church than the judicious and mild counsels of Bishop Geddes. He became penitent and reformed; giving proof of his sincerity by resigning his Protestant charge, which was a lucrative one. He also renounced the society of his wife, a lady of family, and of their three children. For all these ample provision was made; and he himself, with the concurrence of Bishop Talbot, the successor of Bishop Challoner, retired to the College of St. Omer, where he became Professor of Science. This position he retained till the year of the Revolution, 1793. He died abroad the following year.

Bishop Geddes was now at the height of his reputation in the society of Edinburgh. Among the learned of the day, particularly, he was popular and influential. The lively interest which he took in the Antiquarian Society, then recently founded, brought him into relation and correspondence with many persons of the highest distinction.

It was otherwise with Bishop Hay. That he should have been an object of dislike to Protestants

is not astonishing. *Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem læseris*. They had wronged him too much ever to be able to bear him any good will. But, that any of the clergy, for whom he did so much—increasing their means of subsistence, raising them in public estimation, extending their influence, and, when through age or infirmity, they became incapable of duty, providing for their comfort—should have borne any ill-feeling against him, is wholly unaccountable. It is, indeed, true that the chiel parties who reviled him, writing satirical and malevolent letters, were affected with what is politely called eccentricity. Mr. John Reid and Mr. James Cameron, with others in Scotland, and Dr. Alex. Geddes, at London, took pleasure in this kind of correspondence, even writing to Bishop Geddes, sometimes, to the prejudice of his friend and superior. The odium excited by Mr. Jennison's conversion and his consequent desertion of his family, fell wholly on Bishop Hay, although he had no part whatever in the matter, everything having been arranged by his coadjutor and Bishop Talbot.

On Christmas Eve both the chapels in Blackfriars' Wynd were opened and were well filled. Several Protestants attended the mass in St. Margaret's chapel. Nevertheless, everything passed off quietly. At Aberdeen the Catholics were less fortunate. It

is well known that there prevailed among the Protestants of Scotland an idea that something extraordinary and awfully mysterious took place in Catholic churches on Christmas night. On the occasion in question curiosity led numbers to witness the proceedings at midnight mass. The crowd became so great that a serious riot was imminent during most of the night. The Bishop, in a letter to his coadjutor, gives a full account of all that occurred.

“On Christmas eve a great many strangers assembled in the close before the doors were opened, and were very noisy to get in; and when the doors were opened great numbers rushed in with our people. We behaved to give way, and when all were in, the outer gate was shut, and everything went on to the end with great quiet and tranquility within doors. But, without in the streets, great numbers gathered and increased, which, looking suspicious, some of ours that were there in waiting, informed the officer upon guard. But he, not daring to act without the civil magistrate, went to the Provost and told him the suspected danger, desiring to send some peace officer along with him. But the Provost, who was then in a company of twelve gentlemen upon business, told he would go himself, and all the company went with him. When they came, and a party of the military along with them, the mob was

become very numerous—some said about two or three thousand—and appeared very obstinate to get in, refusing to let the others approach; upon which the soldiers were ordered to present their bayonets and press on, which they did, and the mob retired so that the soldiers got possession of the gate. But, the mob still appearing very riotous, the Provost ordered the soldiers to seize whom they could, and put them in prison. This they did, and some of the gentlemen who were with the Provost did the same, so that about sixteen were taken into custody; and the rest, seeing things turn into earnest, retired and dispersed. The Provost, however, ordered some soldiers to remain at the gate till all was over with us, and the gates should be shut. While all that was going on without doors, we were perfectly quiet within, and I knew nothing of the matter till next morning, when our door-keeper, who had been called upon by the Provost, came and told us the whole, and that His Lordship hoped I was not disturbed, and that he was to call for me himself by-and-bye. Hearing all this, I thought it proper to write His Lordship a letter expressing my concern for his trouble, with thanks, etc., and my wishes that nothing might be done to the prisoners, etc. This was given him when he was in council and several of the prisoners before him. He gave them a severe re-

primand, and told them he would have given them fifteen days' imprisonment and a good fine, but that I, whom they wanted to injure, had interceded for them by letter, and on that account he would pardon them for this time, but, that they ought to go and thank me. Thus ended in peace this threatening storm ; but, I fear, we shall be obliged to give up our midnight prayers on future occasions, not to give a handle to such dangers. Praying God to grant you a share of the blessings of this holy season, I remain, most honored and dear sir,

Ever Yours in Dmo,

DAULEY.

(i. e., Geo. Hay, Bishop of Daulis.)

Aberdeen, 26th December, 1784.

Another disturbance at this time helped to show, as far as the spirit which it manifested could show, that Catholics could not yet rely on complete and uninterrupted toleration. This high principle was but little understood, notwithstanding all the light philosophy pretended to have shed on the eighteenth century. The disturbance referred to was the more remarkable, as it occurred in the Highlands, where Catholics were numerous, and consequently not without influence. A priest of the mission, Mr. Austin MacDonald, when visiting his scattered flock in Ardnamurchan, had assembled a congregation on a

week day, to hear mass. A great number of Protestants, and among the rest, an itinerant preacher, called Fraser, gathered around the place where the Catholics were assembled. The priest, observing this unusual gathering, set about retiring without celebrating mass. The preacher, meanwhile, assured him that he had nothing to fear, and that he himself and the other Protestants would wait quietly till the service was finished. As soon as Mr. MacDonald concluded, he and his people began to withdraw. This, however, the preacher would by no means permit, and insisted, notwithstanding all that was said in the way of expostulation and remonstrance, that the Catholics should remain until he finished his sermon. This proceeding of an obscure preacher, although insignificant and puerile in the extreme, was the cause, nevertheless, of much bad feeling on both sides. Some of the neighbouring ministers threatened to harass the Catholics with prosecution, and would have caused them considerable trouble but for the friendly interposition of Bishop Geddes, whose influence with the law authorities at Edinburgh protected the Catholics from all injury, and brought down a well-deserved reprimand on the officious and offending preacher.

The Highland district was suffering in other ways. It was ill supplied with priests, the Bishops having

at times, with great fatigue, to supply the want. A young priest, only two years returned from college, was taken seriously ill; and at midnight, Bishop McDonald was called to visit him. The first part of the Bishop's journey was long and fatiguing, through the snow on foot. He was then obliged to cross an arm of the sea in an open boat. This so affected his health that he doubted whether he should ever recover.

Bishop Hay, meanwhile, was annoyed by new signs of dissatisfaction among the clergy. Some of them who were to be appointed administrators, declared that they would not accept office. The Bishop, possessing the *mens conscia recti*, could not understand such opposition. "Is it some new persecution arising?" he wrote to his friend and coadjutor. "If so, God's will be done." And he continued, as usual his pastoral labours and visitations (1785). On Holy Saturday, March 26th, he lost one of his most valued priests, Mr. William Reid, who ended his long and useful life at Aberdeen. He had been engaged in the mission since 1759, and had always given proof of great piety, together with strong good sense. His death was, as his life had been, all-edifying; and in death, as in life, he was honoured by his numerous friends.

It is matter of history that in his riper years Bishop Hay had not forgot his medical learning. We now find him using it for the benefit of the mission. It is on record that all moneys that came to him, even the profit arising from the sale of his books, were devoted to this object, which, through all his life, he had most at heart. He had invented a pill, which is known by his name, and is still used in the North in cases of slight indisposition. He hoped that this medicine also would come to be a source of income to the mission.

A question had arisen as to who should be liable for the expenses of a priest when called to Edinburgh on public business. "When I was in your place," the Bishop wrote to his coadjutor, "I never put a question of that kind to Bishop Grant, even in the first years, when I had little to spare. I considered what I had as destined by Providence, not simply for my food and raiment, but also for all necessary charges in executing the proper functions of my state. Besides, I knew that Bishop Grant could as ill spare it as I. But, as circumstances are different in that respect at present, in case you find it inconvenient, you are very welcome to place it to my account."

CAP. XXXVI.

CHANGES—MR. JAMES CARRUTHERS—MR. ANDREW DAWSON—PROGRESS—KEMPCAIRN—REPAIRS OF THE “HIGHLAND CHAPEL” OPPOSED—PROCEEDED WITH—ANNUAL MEETING OF 1785—MEASURES PROPOSED—THE COLLEGE AT PARIS—ITS GREAT UTILITY—MR. DORLET—DECLINE OF THE COLLEGE—BETTER PROSPECTS—THE BISHOP DISAPPOINTED—THINKS OF RESIGNING—IN BETTER HEALTH CONTINUES HIS LABOURS—RESTORATION OF THE HIGHLAND CHAPEL, COMPLETED—THE PARIS COLLEGE—PRINCIPAL GORDON’S “MEMOIR” ANSWERED—A COMPROMISE.

Changes in the missions were necessarily very frequent. Mr. James Cameron, Chaplain at Kirkconnel, was removed to Aberneen, Mr. Maxwell stipulating that Mr. McGillivray should be sent to supply his place. In compliance, however, with the wishes of Mr. McGillivray’s congregation, the Bishop declined to remove him. Finally, Mr. Maxwell’s influence prevailed in securing the services of Mr. McGillivray as his Chaplain. Mr. James Cameron was appointed to succeed Mr. Fraser, an ex-Jesuit, in the mission of Munshes, in Galloway, the family

there being still Catholic, and Mr. John Gordon, nephew of Bishop Geddes, replaced Mr. Cameron at Aberdeen. The mission of Glenlivat fell to Mr. James Carruthers, who had just completed his studies at Douai, and who, in his riper years, was known as the author of a History of Scotland, and a vindication of Queen Mary. Mr. William Reid was removed from Shenval to the Stryla mission, of which Keith was the centre; and Mr. Andrew Dawson, afterwards President at Scaln, commenced his missionary career at Shenval, the chief place of the Cabrach district. Such frequent changes were to none more unpleasant than the Bishop; but they could not be avoided. "Necessity," he stated, "has now for many years been our only guide in these matters."

It is indicative of progress that it was appointed for the priest of the Stryla mission to reside at Kempcairn, near Keith, where a chapel and house were to be provided for him. This was not the only missionary establishment that the Bishop was engaged to provide for. He felt the burden; but was resigned. "For my part," he wrote to his coadjutor, "I think my money cannot be better employed than for such a purpose. But I cannot do all, and hope you will do something, at least for Kempcairn." Mr. Reid survived the Bishop fourteen years: and in his latter days, which, like his earlier time, were usefully employed, was known as the "Patriarch."

It became necessary this year to make repairs in the old chapel on the east side of Blackfriars' Wynd. The Bishop could not, on account of other demands upon him, contribute anything towards the expense. He recommended, in consequence, that the funds required should be borrowed ; and the interest paid out of the proceeds of the bench rents, and the capital by instalments from time to time. One of the neighbours opposed the repairs, as had been done in the case of the alterations required at the chapel on the opposite side. Mr. Menzies, the priest, promptly sought legal advice ; and in two hours from the time the work was stopped, the Dean of Guild and his council were on the top of the walls, hearing what could be said and shown on either side. He decided in favour of continuing the repairs ; and the adverse party threatened an appeal to the court of session. But nothing appears to have been done, as the work was continued without any further interruption. This chapel was known as " St. Andrew's Chapel ;" but it was sometimes also called the " Highland Chapel," as Mr. Menzies preached in it on Sunday, in Gaelic, to the Highland congregation."

Bishop Hay desired very much that his friend and coadjutor should be present this year, 1785, at the usual annual meeting of the Bishops. Bishop Geddes was by no means disinclined to attend ; and lest there

should arise any inconvenience in consequence of his absence from Edinburgh, Abbe Paul Macpherson was appointed to do duty for him there. He informed Bishop Hay that he had several measures to propose for the better management of their common affairs. To this the Bishop made no objections, assuring him that he was at full liberty to propose whatever he thought most conducive to the common good ; for he had "nothing more at heart than to see our little community settled upon the most solid footing, that matters may not be exposed to fluctuations and changes, which are always disagreeable and often hurtful."

The Scotch College at Paris had for some time been a source of difficulty to the Bishops. They never had so much control of it as would have been most beneficial to the mission. For a long time, however, everything proceeded harmoniously, especially during the days when the Innes family were concerned with its management. They always deferred to the wishes of the Bishops ; and the College became famous during the prefecture of Thomas Innes, so well known and eminent as an author and antiquary. The next generation of the Innes family were alike successful in maintaining a good understanding with the heads of the mission in Scotland. From its first institution the Paris

College had given valuable aid to the cause of religion in Scotland. It had produced many excellent missionary priests. Its doors were always open to fugitive missionaries, who were so often obliged, when life and liberty were threatened, to leave their country and seek safety abroad. Students on their way to Rome were always kindly entertained at Paris, and as a relief to the Scotch mission the expenses of the remaining part of their journey were defrayed by the superiors of the College at Paris. On their return, likewise, they were welcome guests, and often induced to prolong their stay at Paris until they learned anew their native language and acquired complete knowledge of their future duties. Moreover, the public funds of the college, as well as the private means of its heads, were, time and again, applied for the relief of the pecuniary distress of the mission. They also gave information concerning the difficulties of missionary priests in Scotland, to the early Scotch agents at Rome, who knew little or nothing about such things. They maintained a weekly correspondence with Rome, and apprised the agent there of the miseries of his native country, suggesting, at the same time, remedies and stimulating his zeal till they were applied. On the death of Mr. George Innes, in 1752, the last of the Innes family who had relations

with the college, the harmony which had so long subsisted between it and the mission began to decline. The new Principal, Mr. John Gordon, of Achintoul, or Dorletters (hence his name often occurs in the correspondence as *Mr. Dorlet*), was less careful to secure the confidence of the Bishops in his administration. The dissatisfaction of the Bishops arose from the less perfect state of education. The defective training of the young ecclesiastics deprived the mission of many promising subjects; and it often happened that students, designed for the Church, returned home as laymen and even fell away from their religion. The Bishops remonstrated with the Principal, but to no purpose. On the death of Mr. Gordon, in 1777, hopes were entertained of improvement in the government of the college. His successor, Mr. Alexander Gordon, enjoyed a fair reputation in Scotland, having served the mission for many years, and who was, at the time of his appointment as principal, agent or procurator, for the clergy at Edinburgh. He took with him from Scotland, when he went in 1778, to enter on his charge of the college, two of the best students at Scalan. Such beginnings led to the hope that the college would soon renew its ancient reputation, and become, once more, a nursery of serviceable priests. This, however, was not its destiny. The two young men re-

ferred to returned home without completing their studies. This was a cause of grief and disappointment to the Bishops; and the revelations made by one of the students, who had returned, were far from affording them any comfort, and only caused further inquiry to be made. One of the two youths when suffering from a severe illness, which ended in his death, spoke his mind to Bishop Hay, personally, and by letter. He assured the Bishop that his loss of health and premature return home arose from the distress of mind caused him by the abuses that had found their way into the college, and to which he ascribed the defection of his fellow-student and others whom he named. Bishop Hay, when at Paris, on his way to Rome, in 1782, inquired more particularly into the management of the college than was to the liking of Mr. Gordon. The quarrelsome temper of the Principal was not unknown. He had given too good proof of it in the protracted dispute which he held with the Bishop concerning the maintenance of his insane brother.

The subject of the college and Bishop Hay's investigations came before the annual meeting at Scaln in 1783. Vacancies having occurred at the college, the Principal applied for subjects to fill them. Instead of at once complying with this request, the Bishop laid the case of the college before his colleagues.

He imparted to them the information which he had received from Mr. Peter Hay, the student, together with the confirmation of the same which he found by personal examination when at Paris. Considering the abuses which prevailed and the persistency of the Principal, he urged on them the extreme measure of declining to send any more boys until the college should be placed in a more satisfactory condition. The other Bishops were greatly swayed by his arguments; but dreading an open rupture, opposed so vigorous a resolution. Their opinion, however, did not prevail, and the Principal was, in due course, advised that he need expect no more students from Scotland until a complete change of system take place in the college. The well-founded fears of Bishops McDonald and Geddes were now realized. The Principal showed that he could retaliate. He met what he called the unjustifiable interference of the Bishops by suspending the funds in Paris belonging to the seminary at Scalán, pretending that their object was the maintenance of boys while preparing for the college at Paris. It appears that there were funds belonging to the mission in his hands, which, on similar grounds, he also sequestered. The singular talent of Bishop Geddes for making peace was zealously employed but in vain; the Principal remained unmoved impervious to reason.

The authority of the Prior of the Carthusians over the college was superior to that of the Principal. To him, therefore, the Bishop appealed against Mr. Gordon's measure of retaliation. This appeal was written in French, and dated January 27th, 1784. The whole subject was treated therein with the Bishop's usual method and completeness. Some of his arguments may have been weak and defective, but his reasoning, on the whole, was sound and his cause just. The appeal was sent under cover to the Nuncio at Brussels, and along with it a request that the Nuncio at Paris would deliver it to the Prior with his own hand. This was done. The Prior, de Nonant, was wholly on the side of the Principal, and returned to the appeal a brief and supercilious reply, repeating and defending his determination to arrest the funds in Paris that belonged to the seminary, as long as the Scotch Bishops refused to send students to the college. The Bishops were not of a mind to recede from their position. "It is better," said Bishop Hay, "to send none (no students) there than to send and have them ruined." The Bishop ably rebutted the Prior's arguments, and insisted on the conclusion of his appeal. Bishop Geddes also, as procurator of the mission, wrote to Paris protesting against attaching the funds of the mission in a cause wholly foreign to their objects and destination. By his

courteous manner and wonderful skill in negotiation, he prevailed so far as to effect a compromise in regard to the matter of funds, until the principal question at issue should be decided. The Principal himself was pleased to write a pamphlet, dated April 20, 1785, and had it edited in London by Dr. Alex. Geddes. It was read and discussed at great length in presence of the Bishops and administrators at their annual meeting of 1785. "It was such a paper," Bishop Hay stated, writing to Mr. Thomson, "as might be expected from such a source—full of misrepresentation, falsehood and acrimony." The Bishops at this meeting resolved on a proposal to the effect that if the Paris College wanted boys, it must choose them and pay for their board at Scalan, as well as for their outfit and travelling expenses on leaving it. The persistent Principal not only put his pamphlet in circulation through the London press, but also talked loudly of carrying the cause to Rome, unless the Bishop would retract his charges against himself and his college. The Bishop, in reply, said he was welcome to write to Rome, and that his opponent would willingly meet him there. Moreover, he would not refuse to retract or apologize for any misrepresentation which he might inadvertently have made, on his becoming aware of it; but he would never think of acknowledging the false interpretation that had been put upon his words.

The Bishop was now suffering in mind from the opposition and ill success which he had met with. The failure of his negotiations regarding the Colleges at Paris and Rome gave him great concern. The resistance to his wishes at the annual meeting which had just been held ; the dislike of some of the clergy to his episcopal rule, together with the abuse which they heaped upon him, weighed heavily on his mind. All this, with his ceaseless labour, caused depression of spirits, and to such a degree that he desired to resign his high and laborious charge. Nothing came of this, however. After considerable discussion with his coadjutor and other friends, who were all opposed to his resignation, the idea was abandoned, and the comparative ease which, the meeting and its cares being at an end, he enjoyed, favouring his health, he continued his labours with the usual zeal and energy ; while the desire of resignation, once dismissed from his mind, these labours were persevered in for the long period of twenty years that still lay before him, and, with a degree of courage that no trial or hardship or anxiety could overcome.

In the autumn of this year, 1785, the restoration of the chapel on the east side of Blackfriars' Wynd, popularly known as "the Highland Chapel," was completed. The expense, considering the circumstances of the mission, was considerable. The

pecuniary sacrifice, however, was not made in vain ; for, notwithstanding the unfavourable situation, the restored chapel was a source of great benefit to the Catholic community. It was looked upon, at the time, as one of the best chapels in the kingdom ; and it is noteworthy that it possessed a fine painting by an eminent artist, and that it was coeval with some of the structures that are still the pride of Edinburgh ; while marking the prosperity of that day, the new University was in prospect, and the "North New Town" had advanced westwards, almost opposite the castle.

It was now judged necessary that an answer should be given to Principal Gordon's "*Memoir*" regarding the College at Paris. It was, indeed, nothing better than a scurrilous libel—a series of misrepresentations and calumnies from beginning to end. Nevertheless, as it was sent under seal to every priest in both divisions of the mission, it was calculated to create an unfavourable impression unless a true statement of the whole case were prepared and placed in the hands of the clergy. The Bishop, accordingly, drew up a paper in the form of a letter addressed to his "Brethren of the Missions of Scotland," in which he gave a full and distinct account of everything connected with the affair of the college, accompanied by such vouchers for all he

advanced as would stand the strictest examination. This paper when shown to the clergy produced the desired result. They were all satisfied as to the falsehood of the Principal's assertions, and so thoroughly disgusted with the insolence of his language as to render it unnecessary to do anything more in the matter. The compromise which Bishop Geddes had succeeded in effecting with the Principal regarding the Scalan and Deeside rents, was confirmed and made permanent, Mr. Gordon agreeing to continue the payment of them as a gift of his good will.

CAP. XXXVII.

GLASGOW—BAD SEASON—1786—AND DREAD OF FAM-
INE—HOUSE OF SCALAN IN DANGER—ANNUAL
MEETING—THE BISHOPS WRITE TO PROPAGANDA
THAT ALEX'R. MCDONELL, A CANDIDATE FOR THE
MITRE WHEN ALEX'R. MCDONALD WAS APPOINTED
VICAR APOSTOLIC AND BISHOP OF POLEMO, EMI-
GRATED TO CANADA WITH 500 OF HIS CONGREGA-
TION—THEY STATED ALSO THAT THE BISHOP OF
POLEMO WAS RESIDING AT A SEMINARY ESTAB-
LISHED AT SAMALAMAN, ON THE WEST COAST
OF SCOTLAND—THEY ENDED BY EXPRESSING THE
NEED THERE WAS OF MORE PRIESTS—THE EARL
OF BUTE AND HIS BROTHER COMPLETE THE
MONUMENT TO ABBATE GRANT—CONFIRMATIONS—
PUBLICATION OF THE "PIOUS CHRISTIAN"—
BISHOP HAY'S WORKS VERY POPULAR IN GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND—BISHOP GEDDES AND
ROBERT BURNS—AN EXECUTION—GLASGOW MIS-
SION—STUDENTS OF THE ROMAN COLLEGE—
EFFECTIVE DISCIPLINE—MR. THOMSON WRITES
MEMOIRS OF THE SCOTCH MISSION—BISHOP HAY'S
"OPPOSITION"—CURIOUS DISCUSSION AS TO WHO
WERE THE BEST CANDIDATES FOR THE PRIEST-
HOOD.

At this time the congregation at Glasgow was making favourable progress ; and it met with all encouragement from Bishop Geddes, who took great interest in it, and favoured it with regular missionary priests' visits. He even expressed to Bishop Hay his confidence that, with proper management, a missionary priest might soon be placed there ; but it must be one who knew the Erse or Gaelic language. The Bishop replied at once that it gave him great pleasure to hear such good accounts of matters at Glasgow, but regretted that a priest could not yet be found to supply that interesting mission.

This year, 1786, there was but too much reason to fear the calamity of famine. The early summer was ungenial, and there was ground for apprehending that the harvest would be as disastrous as those of 1782 and 1783. Another such season, Bishop Hay considered, and the country would be entirely ruined. Nor would this surprise him, wickedness having gone to such a height ; and, indeed, he feared that it was daily increasing. His health improved as the summer advanced, and preparations were made for holding the annual meeting at Scalan. The house there narrowly escaped being destroyed the preceding April. A spark from a chimney had set fire to the thatched roof ; and if the rising fire had not been observed in time, the whole house would have been

consumed. Great efforts were made in pulling the thatch to pieces ; and so the fire was speedily subdued. The Bishops assembled as usual, and despatched to Rome their annual report on July 28th. They informed Cardinal Antonelli and Propoganda that Alexander MacDonell, a priest, who was a candidate for the mitre, when another Alex. MacDonald was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Highland district, with the title of Bishop of Polemo, had emigrated to Canada with five hundred of his flock. They also stated that the Bishop of Polemo was residing in a seminary which had been established at Samalaman, on the west coast of Scotland. The Bishops concluded their report by expressing an earnest desire for more missionary priests in Scotland ; thus showing that religion was progressing, and the field for clerical labour widening from year to year. By September, Bishop Geddes was again at Edinburgh, and Bishop Hay at Aberdeen. Mr. Thomson, in a letter of this month, informed his friend, Bishop Hay, of the noticeable circumstance that John, Earl of Bute, and his brother, James Stewart Mackenzie, had completed the erection of a monument to their friend, the late Agent, Abbate Grant, in the church of the Scotch College at Rome. It consisted of a marble slab, with a medallion of the worthy agent and an appropriate inscription. The cost was about £50 sterling.

Bishop Geddes, soon after his return from the meeting at Scalan, undertook the visitation of the Galloway missions. He administered confirmation at several places. There were twenty-seven confirmed at Kirkconnel, now New Abbey parish ; fifteen at Munshes, now replaced by Dalbeattie ; and twenty-three at Terregles, now united with Dumfries. Any Catholics there may have been at Parton besides Mr. Glendonwyn, the proprietor, must have attended on occasion of the episcopal visitation at Munshes, as the Bishop did not visit Parton, having ample opportunity of meeting Mr. Glendonwyn at Dumfries.

Once more we have the pleasure, this year, 1786, to find Bishop Hay in the midst of his theological studies. The result was the publication of the "*Pious Christian*," which may be considered a continuation or third part of the "*Sincere*" and the "*Devout Christian*." When engaged in the preparation of this work, he derived much comfort and relief to the ailment in his side from the use of the Spanish *Faja*, which Bishop Geddes had provided for him. This improvement in his health was a cause of great joy to him as it facilitated so much the application to study that was necessary in completing a work of such importance. In March it was ready for the press, and the printer was set to work. Considering the state of the Bishop's finances, the expense was compara-

tively considerable. He accordingly sought the aid of subscriptions, and asked Bishop Geddes to order some copies. It was not intended to be an expensive volume. The price was to be half a crown (62 cents) or three shillings (75 cents). On the 21st of June it was reported complete. Its title is rather a long one—“*The Pious Christian Instructed in the Nature and Practice of those Exercises of Piety which are used in the Catholic Church.*” The Bishop himself thus describes it: “It is, therefore, an ascetical explication of the Manual, and as all the prayers of the Manual are added, after the explication, it is also a Manual itself.” In the introduction, the Bishop still further explains his choice of title, “Having in *The Sincere Christian* instructed in the faith of Christ those who are seriously desirous to know the truth; and having in *The Devout Christian* instructed those who are truly resolved to obey God in what his holy law requires from them in order to please Him, we now propose in the present work, to instruct the pious Christian in the nature of those holy exercises of piety which he practices, and in the manner of practicing them, so that they may be of real benefit to him, and effectually enable him to keep the commandments of God, to sanctify his own soul and secure his eternal salvation.” An objection had been made to the method of examination of conscience, under a

certain class of sins. The author, in writing to Bishop Geddes, thus replied : As to the objections against the examination in 6th, all I need say is that I made it my endeavour to have as little of the prayers, etc., of my own composing as I could, when I could get what was to my purpose in other English Manuals, especially in those which are generally most esteemed. Among these I always considered *The Garden of the Soul* as one of the standards, and the many editions it has gone through show the public approbation. I therefore thought I could not be better screened than in taking it for my guide ; and you will find the table of sins in *The Pious Christian* is just transcribed from *The Garden of the Soul*. You may hint this to the objector if you please." It would appear that the objection has been generally sustained, public sentiment sanctioning the principle which it involves. The more recent editions of *The Garden of the Soul* have adopted the proposed change, judiciously leaving the examination of conscience under the head referred to, to the suggestions of private inquiry. It is scarcely necessary to say that the instructive works of Bishop Hay were very popular among Catholics generally. In Ireland, especially, they were highly esteemed. Wogan, the Dublin printer, who had been charged with the Irish edition of the Bishop's earlier works, in writing to inform him of the death of the

much regretted Archbishop Carpenter, took occasion to express his thanks for the great success that had attended the reprint of four volumes of the Bishop's works, and said, at the same time, that he hoped to enjoy his patronage in the future.

We seldom read in the history of our Bishops of their taking any concern in matters beyond the sphere of their ecclesiastical duties and occupations. Hence, it gives all the more pleasure to find the accomplished Bishop Geddes expressing his appreciation of a rising author who came, in due time, to be recognized as the Poet of Scotland. Genius only is the judge of genius; and we set down the words of no ordinary critic, when we record the opinion which Bishop Geddes entertained of the poetical ability of Robert Burns. The capital of Scotland was, at the time, 1787, a seat of literary taste and fashionable society. The Ayrshire Bard had just emerged from his rural privacy, and was a welcome guest in the brilliant circles of the time. Bishop Geddes, writing to Mr. Thomson, the agent of the mission at Rome, thus speaks of the youthful poet who was destined to become so celebrated: "One Burns, an Ayrshire ploughman, has lately appeared as a very good poet. One edition of his works has been sold very rapidly, and another by subscription, is in the press." Repeating the news to the same correspondent, the Bishop says: "There

is an excellent poet started up in Ayrshire, where he has been a ploughman. He has made many excellent poems in old Scotch, which are now in the press for the third time. I shall send them to you. His name is Burns. He is only twenty-eight years of age. He is in town just now ; and I supped with him at Lord Monboddo's, where I conversed a good deal with him, and think him a man of uncommon genius ; and he has, as yet, time, if he lives, to cultivate it." The good Bishop, moreover, showed his appreciation by taking an active interest in the young poet. In the subscription list prefixed to the Edinburgh edition of Burns' poems, published in 1787, are to be found the Scotch Colleges and Monasteries abroad, beginning with Valladolid, of which Bishop Geddes had been so long Principal. No other than the kindly Bishop could have caused them to be inserted. The poet was not ungrateful. He addressed a very interesting letter to the Bishop, in which is preserved the memory of this obliging act, as well as of the friendship that had arisen between the Bishop and the Bard. We learn also from the same letter that, at the time it was written, the Bishop's copy of the poems was in Burn's possession, for the purpose of having inserted some additional poems in the poet's own hand. It is also stated that Burns looked forward to the pleasure of meeting the

Bishop at Edinburgh in the course of the following month.

The good Bishop was not always so agreeably engaged as in conversing with poets and dining with the judges of the land. We find him as profitably and with more edification, imparting the consolations of religion to an unfortunate man, for whom there was no longer any earthly comfort. So recently as the days of Bishop Geddes, the extreme penalty of the law was inflicted on account of less crimes than murder, wilful fire-raising, etc. A young Irish soldier had become intoxicated, and, when in this state, got implicated in a robbery. For this crime, according to the practice of the time, he was under sentence of death. The Bishop himself discharged the painful duty of attending him to the scaffold. The ill-fated youth, it is related, behaved most becomingly.

In January of this year Bishop Geddes once more visited Glasgow. He not only found that the Catholics there were gaining ground, his congregation amounting to seventy members, but also—and which was of no small importance—that many leading people in the town showed no displeasure at the occasional meeting of the Catholics for public worship, although they had, for some time, been aware of such meeting. Several professors of the University

availed themselves of the Bishop's visit to show him due civility. These were hopeful signs ; and the Bishop was encouraged by them to make arrangements with Mr. Alex. MacDonald, who was stationed at Drummond, to visit the Highlanders of Glasgow some time in the ensuing Lent. It can easily be conceived what pleasure it gave Bishop Hay to hear of so much progress where little or none had hitherto been hoped for. This was the first permanent missionary arrangement proposed for the capital of the West of Scotland ; and the Bishop wrote at once to impart his sanction. At the same time came an unpleasant communication from Cardinal Protector Albani, at Rome, complaining of some students whom the Bishops had sent to the Scotch College, and finding fault with the Bishops for sending such unfit subjects. It is by no means surprising, considering the defective discipline which prevailed in the College, that certain youths had not been successful. The state of the College must have been greatly to blame ; and such was the conviction of the Bishops. Bishop Hay was at first inclined to adopt measures similar to those which had ended in a rupture between the Bishops and the Paris College. But, judging from experience, he thought it was the part of prudence to yield to the opinion of his colleagues. Hence it was stipulated that, provided the arrears of Cardinal

Spinelli's legacy to Scalan were paid, and Mr. Thomson permitted still to reside in the College, the Bishops would be satisfied, and wait the dispositions of Providence, confidently hoping that in course of time an end would come to the ill-disciplined condition of the College.

The Bishop, with his usual consideration, received at this time into his house at Aberdeen, a youth whom Mr. Robertson recently appointed to the Buchan mission, highly recommended. This student he found to be deserving of all that had been said in his favour; and he proposed sending him to the College at Douai.

Mr. Thompson, meanwhile, in order to beguile the weary hours of his unpleasant position at Rome, which was attended with much vexation, employed his abilities in writing memoirs of the Scotch mission. He relied for information chiefly on letters and papers which had belonged to the late agent, and other documents. Many of these had gone astray; and many more had perished.

Bishop Hay's episcopal government like some civil governments of our time, appears to have had an *opposition*; and it was not always a very loyal one. In the earlier days of the mission it was mostly the better class of society that supplied students for the Church. This better class consisted

of the nobility and gentry, together with their tenant farmers of the higher order, who formerly intermarried with the lairds and nobles. The chief hope for a supply of ecclesiastical students, at the time of which there is question, depended on the lowest class of farmers, mostly those who laboured on their farms with their own hands. The Bishop insisted on availing himself of this source of ecclesiastical supply for renewing and perpetuating the priesthood. The *opposition*, and it had, as concerned this question the support of the coadjutor, strongly resisted this policy, if *policy* it may be called. Bishop Geddes and others argued for birth and family connection, as a condition of selection to the ecclesiastical state. Bishop Hay, in order to justify his way of proceeding, prepared a carefully written and elaborate document, in which he enumerated and discussed the objections that had been made to students whom he recommended. To the first objection—*inferior birth*—the Bishop thought it sufficient to reply that his predecessors had never considered it an obstacle to the admission of students, and that many of the humblest origin had turned out an ornament to the mission. *Infamy* of a student's near relations, although as an objection entitled to more consideration than the preceding, the Bishop demonstrated, both in theory and from former practice, to merit no

more than a qualified regard ; and he showed the injustice of universally rejecting a young man, otherwise promising, merely because some of his family had misconducted themselves. Neither was the circumstance of the candidate for admission, having formerly been engaged in service, considered by the Bishop as disqualifying him from aspiring to the priesthood. This opinion he supported by several precedents in the history of the mission. A final objection arose from the age of the candidate being considerably in advance of the usual period of life at which boys entered the seminary. The Bishop disposed of this difficulty as one having less pretensions to weight than any of the preceding. The good dispositions of a young man aspiring to the priesthood must be taken as a manifestation of the Divine will in regard to his vocation. In opposition to such proof none of the objections above stated ought to be allowed to weigh. These objections are not found among the *irregularities* which the Church enumerates as impediments against admission to the priesthood. These, the Bishop truly observes are all directly or indirectly personal to the candidate ; and they are frequently dispensed with. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that it never was according to the mind of the Church that any of the circumstances objected to should disqualify for her service a person otherwise fitted for it.

CAP. XXXVIII.

DISCUSSION CONTINUED—THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC COMMITTEE—INNOVATION DREADED—ANNUAL MEETING OF 1787—INCREASE OF CHURCHES—MR. MATHIESON—DUNDEE MISSION—STATE OF SCALAN—MR. ANDREW DAWSON, RECTOR—BISHOP HAY'S RETURN TO EDINBURGH—SLOW TRAVELLING—THE PROGRESS OF RELIGION A GREAT PLEASURE TO THE BISHOP—ANXIETY CAUSED BY CONTINENTAL POLITICS—BISHOP GEDDES FOSTERS THE GLASGOW MISSION—"THE MERCHANT PRINCES" FRIENDLY—THRIVING INDUSTRIES—IRISH IMMIGRATION.

It is in order now to hear *opposition*. Its arguments, as urged by Bishop Geddes, may be summarised as follows : There was no great difference of opinion between the Bishops on general principles.

On two points only did Bishop Geddes insist on his own views. He held that persons of very humble origin were less fit to be selected for the priesthood, and surely his long experience, both at Scalan and Valladolid, gave great weight to his opinion.

There was much inequality in virtue and temper and ability in every rank of life ; and Bishop Geddes had remarked that persons born in very low circum-

stances were liable to certain disadvantages which it was not easy to overcome ; such as a littleness of mind, a timidity of temper, a vulgarity of sentiment and, too often, the grossness of vice. It was also a help to the success of a missionary priest that his family and near connections should be respected, and although objections on this ground might be counterbalanced by other considerations, a judicious superior ought unquestionably to take them into account in deciding as to the eligibility of a candidate for the ministry. We thus behold the man of humble origin, the son of a small and obscure farmer, arguing against the selection of candidates for the service of the Church, from the class to which he himself had belonged, whilst the man of ancient family and aristocratic connection vigourously supported the popular side of the question.

Bishop Hay appeared to think that considerable advantage belongs to the commencement of ecclesiastical training at the age of twenty and upwards.

Bishop Geddes, on the other hand, thought that such advantage is much diminished by increased difficulty experienced at that age, in undertaking a long course of study, and by the novelty of the mode of life. A special gift of perseverance and more than ordinary grace were necessary, he believed, to ensure the constancy of an adult candidate. It was mani-

fest, both from reason and experience, that children and boys were trained to the observance of exact discipline more easily than men whose habits of liberty had become formed, and who were naturally inclined to consider the exactness of seminary life unnecessary. "In this matter," said Bishop Geddes, addressing the senior Bishop, "you cannot judge solely from yourself. You had been accustomed to a studious life, and you may believe me, to the generality of grown up men, to be tied down every day, to some fixed task, appears a great confinement and a kind of slavery, especially if the first fervour should cool." Allusion was made to one or two points more in regard to which an adult student laboured under peculiar disadvantages, and then the learned Bishop concluded by stating, in his usual gentle style, that what he had said was not mere speculation, but the result of his own observation and of that of many others. Hence arose the desire of superiors of colleges in general to have young boys sent to them, whom they may train up in their own way. There are exceptions to what I have here said; but I think I have given the general rules, which I could illustrate with many examples, but it might be too long and otherwise inconvenient."

The Bishops were now engaged in the discharge of their episcopal duties, adding not unfrequently,

parochial labours, when news reached them of certain proceedings of the English Catholics, which caused them much concern. At a general meeting in 1782, a committee, called "The Catholic Committee," had been appointed for five years, having for its object "to promote and attend to the affairs of the Roman Catholic body in England." This committee, when first constituted, consisted of Lords Stourton and Petre, Mr. Throckmorton, Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Thomas Hornyold. They seem to have limited themselves to the devising of a plan for the restoration of the hierarchy in England. But when they came to consult the four Bishops on the subject, they found such a variety of opinion, that the measure was dropped. As their power expired in 1787, a new committee was appointed at a general meeting of the English Catholics on the 3rd of May, in this year. It was then resolved that the regulations under which the former committee had acted should remain in force, and that the new committee should consist of ten members instead of five. Half their number were to be elected by the general meeting and the other five returned by the gentlemen of the four ecclesiastical districts and by those of Lancashire and Cheshire as a fifth ecclesiastical district. It was further resolved that they should meet annually on the first Thursday of May, and

that Mr. Charles Butler should act as their secretary. Many of the clergy felt uneasy at the prospect of innovation which arose. Bishop Hay shared in this feeling, and applied to Bishop Talbot for information as to the proceedings decided on at the meeting. The Bishop replied, stating that, much against his will, he had been induced to attend the meeting ; and that he had found the committee full of sanguine hopes for their projects, but openly declaring, at the same time, that nothing should be done without the concurrence of the clergy ; and, indeed, nothing was determined on as regarded their future operations, and the whole question was postponed for a year. On receiving this reply, Bishop Hay concluded that nothing would ever be done if the intentions of the committee corresponded with their promise of acting in concert with the Bishops. Bishop Geddes, like his venerable colleague, and the rest of the clergy, was alarmed at the idea of innovations devised and introduced by unauthorized laymen. It was, indeed, no slight beginning of innovation that those decemvirs should take it upon themselves to regulate the affairs of the Church, even although they promised graciously to allow the clergy to concur with them. The learned Bishop evidently dreaded lest their action should result in schism. "I am alarmed as well as you," he wrote, "at the thoughts of innovations

among our friends in England. I wish they may have a prudent agent at Rome. I wish there may not arise divisions at home. Whatever comes, we must remain particularly attached to the centre of unity. This is surely the safest method for us." Bishop Hay also feared that evil would arise from the proceedings of the English Committee. "Who knows," he writes to the agent at Rome, "the influence of their intrigues or their plans?" The agitation at Rome regarding national colleges may have tended to originate this state of things. One result of this agitation was a scheme to establish, by general contribution, a school at home for the education of youth, the masters of which should be chosen by the contributors. Bishop Hay was apprehensive that the carrying out of this scheme would be attended, if not with absolute schism, at least with serious divisions, which would be highly detrimental to the cause of religion.

There does not appear to have been any business of great importance before the annual meeting of the Bishops, which was held this year, as usual, at Scalán. In the account of matters which they prepared for Propaganda, they could give a favourable view of the progress of religion. The spirit of persecution had greatly diminished, as was shown by the greater number and better style of churches

which the Catholics were enabled to erect. Such important places as Huntley, Glenlivat, and Strathdown were now to possess churches, so steadily was the light of religion spreading from the private dwelling and the hidden chamber, to the more public places of the land, and edifices devoted to its celebrations, where all men could come and experience its consoling influences. The churches now built were not of a high style of architecture; but were solidly constructed and roofed with slate—not with humble thatch, as at a less prosperous epoch. Mr. Geo. Mathieson had, this year, enlarged the chapel at Tynet, adjoining the park of Gordon Castle, greatly adding to the commodiousness and beauty of the building, which his predecessor, Dr. Alex. Geddes, had begun. It may be mentioned, as indicative of the moderate spirit of the time, that the ducal family of Gordon, now Protestant, allowed the slates belonging to the deserted chapel of St. Ninian to be used by Mr. Mathieson for his new building. The Bishops congratulated themselves on the happy circumstance that churches were increasing “beyond what could have been dreamed of some time ago.” (Bishop Hay.)

From this year we must date the commencement of the now flourishing mission of Dundee. It had, until the time referred to, been indebted to the priest of Stobhall for occasional assistance. When Stobhall

was vacant, which not unfrequently was the case, it had recourse to Edinburgh, the Catholics of Dundee, still few in number, availing themselves of the good services of the Edinburgh clergy. The first resident priest was Mr. William Pepper, a religious of the Benedictine Order, from Wirtzburg, and who had been employed about a year as private tutor at Fetternear (Mr. Leslie's.)

Bishop Hay, after the meeting of the Bishops, prolonged his stay at Scaln during the whole of August in order to inquire into the affairs of the seminary. It had not been in a thriving condition under the management of Mr. Alex. Farquarson. On inspection the Bishop found everything in great confusion—many accounts remained unpaid; nearly all the provisions were exhausted, and the new building unfinished. His first measure was to call Mr. Andrew Dawson (grand uncle of the writer) from the Shenval mission, to take charge of the seminary, and to send the incompetent president to supply his place in the Cabrach. The incessant rains were an impediment to putting things in order out of doors. There was, however, no worse inconvenience than some delay. Only a sufficient supply of peats for one year had been carried in—a quantity deemed inadequate, it appears, by provident house-keepers. Within doors the Bishop gave great attention to the

state of the books. They were all placed in order in the new part of the building. Those in ordinary use among the students were much worn, particularly Butler's Lives of the Saints, the English Bibles and Chalmerson's Meditations, all of which it was necessary to renew. The Bishop stayed a week more at the Seminary. Mr. Dawson willingly adopted his views of economical reform. In the second week of August, he hoped to be able to leave for the Enzie. The subject of Scalan occasioned great concern, both to the Bishop and his coadjutor. Nevertheless, they thought they saw the hand of Providence in all that had happened, as the means necessary and appointed for placing that house of ecclesiastical training on an efficient footing for the time to come. The expense incurred in reforming the Seminary caused the Bishop to contract considerable debt. Time only was wanting, however, for retrieving his financial condition. He enjoyed the satisfaction, meanwhile, to reflect that he had succeeded in clearing the Seminary of all its liabilities; and whatever he had sacrificed in so doing, he cheerfully presented to the institution. In addition, as increased "ways and means" to the Seminary, he was pleased to devote to it for a time the profits arising from the sale of his pills. So much for the material aid the Bishop afforded. At the same time he failed not to offer that moral assistance and

encouragement which under the circumstances, were peculiarly valuable. This he did, chiefly through his coadjutor, begging of him to correspond with Mr. Dawson and encourage him in the fulfilment of his arduous duties. Mr. Dawson was necessarily dispirited by the sad state in which he found the Seminary. He had no reason, however, to despair. Bishop Hay had done much for the removal of difficulties; and now Bishop Geddes, by his friendly correspondence, helped greatly to reassure him and give him confidence. It was also a cause of satisfaction to him, as well as a support of his authority, that the senior Bishop laid down regulations, in writing, which indeed were nothing else than the discipline of the house as originally established. Advice from an instructor of youth of such large experience as Bishop Geddes was also of great value to him. The prelate who had been so successful at Valladolid recommended that the newly-appointed president should be much with the students, not only during school hours, but also at dinner and recreation time. He would be well repaid for this attention by the more rapid proficiency of the boys, and the personal comfort it would afford him when once he became accustomed to it. Bishop Hay wished, moreover, that he should be advised to attend particularly to his own religious affairs—meditation, spiritual reading, etc.

This year Bishop Hay revisited Edinburgh after an absence of six years from that Capital. He enjoyed there for a short time the society of his friend and coadjutor. He met also a gentleman, Mr. Heneage, who desired particularly to consult with him. His journey, according to the ideas of our time, was a tedious one. He travelled in a sort of stage coach, called "The Fly" (*lucus a non lucendo*,) probably because it did anything but fly. It took a day and a half from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, a distance which is now got over in six hours. It was no small pleasure to the good Bishop to witness THE PROGRESS RELIGION HAD MADE; the greater number of Catholics, their freedom from persecution, and the better state of their church accommodation. After twelve days' sojourn at the Capital, he returned, in improved health, to the north. On his return to Aberdeen he subscribed, together with some of his friends there, for *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, in order to see "how the threatening embroils on the continent might turn out." The political aspect was such that he was very much inclined to be of Pastorini's opinion. But he was confident that our Lord would prepare him and all our people for what might be coming, and "enable us to act our part so as to please Him."

It is highly interesting to note the pains which Bishop Geddes took with the infant mission of Glasgow. He little knew at the time what a giant he was so carefully nursing. In December of this year he spent ten days there in order the better to ascertain the wants of the small congregation and devise means of making some provision for them. One result was an arrangement with some of the chief people of the flock "to begin a little fund" for defraying the expenses of the priest who visited them from time to time. Not only did he ask nothing for himself, but also paid from his own resources the expenses of the visiting priest. He hoped that by summer the fund subscribed would amount to £20 (twenty pounds sterling). A society was formed for the purpose of forwarding the subscription; and a small house was to be leased in which the Catholics should meet on Sundays for prayers and spiritual reading, and where also the priest should lodge on occasion of his periodical visits. The zealous Bishop entertained the best hopes; and not without good grounds. The merchant princes of the western capital had shown friendly feeling; and the thriving industries of the place were already attracting that Irish immigration which was destined to increase so rapidly as to form, in a comparatively short time, about a sixth part of the entire population. The

hopes of Bishop Geddes have been more than realized. It is only to be regretted that he did not live to enjoy the satisfaction of beholding at least a fair commencement of the great developments which have given to Glasgow so high a place in the Catholic world.

CAP. XXXIX.

EDUCATION—MR. ROBT. MENZIES—GÆLIC SERMONS—
ECCLESIASTICAL STUDENTS—BIGOTRY DECLINING,
1788—DEATH OF PRINCE CHARLES—NON-JURORS
PRAY FOR KING GEORGE—LARGE CHURCH AT PRES-
HOME—ANNUAL MEETING OF 1788 HELD AT GIBS-
TON—USUAL LETTER TO ROME—ILLNESS OF
PRESIDENT ANDREW DAWSON—BISHOP HAY PRESI-
DENT—FOUND SCALAN IMPROVED—DEATH OF
MR. CRUIKSHANKS—ORIGIN OF SCALAN—ITS
TRIALS—RECTORSHIP OF BISHOP HAY—BISHOP
GEDDES RETURNS TO EDINBURGH—IN BUCHAN—
AN OPINION OF BISHOP GEDDES—SUCCESS OF SCA-
LAN—CLIMATE THERE—SIGNS OF THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION—BERWICK WITHIN THE SCOTCH MIS-
SION.

At Edinburgh, meanwhile, the cause of education, which ought ever to go hand in hand with that of religion, was not neglected. Mr. Robert Menzies, the pastor of the Highland congregation, founded in the capital a school for poor Catholic children. He warmly appealed to Bishop Hay, pointing out the danger to faith and morals caused by so many poor children of his congregation being educated in Pro-

testant schools. This consideration induced him to open a school in his chapel, where many poor children were taught reading, writing and catechism every day. A general class for catechism and religious instruction met on Saturdays in the forenoon. Two dozen children at first attended this class. As the attendance increased, thrice as many would be taught. Each pupil paid a small sum for tuition, Bishop Geddes undertaking to pay for six of the poorest of their number. In order that nothing might be wanting in the way of instruction for the Highlanders, Mr. Menzies delivered every Sunday afternoon a sermon in Gælic.

Bishop Hay, at the same time, took another boy into his house, who, together with John Ingram, was maintained at the Bishop's expense. As they were both promising subjects, it was hoped that they would become as serviceable to the mission as those who were sent to the colleges abroad.

A circumstance may be mentioned which shows that at this time the spirit of persecution was on the wane. Mr. Abernethy Drummond, so notorious as an enemy of the Bishops, addressed a polite note to "the Right Rev. Mr. Geddes," begging to know something of the character of a Mrs. Barclay, who, on leaving the Catholic Church, desired to join the non-juror sect of which Mr. Drummond was now the

Bishop. He also desired to learn the cause of her abandoning her Catholic friends. It further illustrates the better spirit of the time that Bishop Geddes visited with such distinguished Protestants as Dr. Webster, Mr. Maitland, and even Dr. Abernethy Drummond.

There now occurred at Rome the death of the Count of Albany (Prince Charles Edward). The news of his decease does not appear to have caused any sensation in Scotland. The Romans believed that the state of the British Catholics would be improved, political distinctions ceasing; and that there would be but one King and one people. This happy consummation had already taken place, when, some years before, Catholics in both divisions of the United Kingdom began to pray for King George. For a considerable time, indeed, the dynasty of the unfortunate Prince had been politically extinct. The non-jurors, even, in a synod at Aberdeen, held this year, resolved, at last, to pray for the reigning King of Great Britain.

The less perfect Church accommodation at Preshome came this year to be enlarged. The chapel at the Craigs was too small for the congregation; and the domestic chapel in the priest's home added nothing to their convenience. It was proposed, therefore, to build a strong and lasting edifice of stone and lime,

with a slate roof, calculated to contain 700 persons. the need of money for this undertaking induced Mr. John Reid to be reconciled to the Bishop. The estimated expense was £350. The congregation chiefly was relied on for this amount ; and the people showed their good will by subscribing £100 within a fortnight. Some of the more wealthy promised to lend £100 more, until the congregation could repay them. In the choice of a site, it was desirable to avoid publicity by placing the building in a too conspicuous locality. Mr. Reid finally resolved to build in a part of his own garden, which, as the agents of the Duke of Gordon admitted, belonged to him. The baronet of Letterfourie and his brother took an active interest in the work ; and not only contributed very liberally, but also undertook to superintend the building. Their family arms were to be placed in front, and a fine monument of the two brothers erected within the church. In two months £330 were subscribed ; and on May 29th the foundation stone was laid by Letterfourie and his brother.

There was now question of the annual meeting and some anxious discussion as to the place where it should be held. The times were so much changed for the better, that it was no longer necessary to meet in a remote and secluded locality such as Scaln. Preshome was thought of ; and probably,

but for the work which was proceeding there, the erection of the new church, would have been selected. Gibston, the residence of the priest near Huntly, was finally determined on as a suitable place for the Bishops and administrators to meet at, and from which to despatch their letters to Rome. At Gibston, accordingly, the Bishops and administrators met. The meeting was satisfactory; and the usual letters duly despatched to Rome. In their letter to the Cardinal, Prefect of Propaganda, they informed His Eminence that it had been resolved, in consequence of the illness of Mr. Dawson and the insufficient number of missionary priests, that Bishop Hay should act as president at Scalan, at least for a time. Mr. Dawson's illness was too serious to leave any hope of final recovery. He had been ailing all winter, and consumption was feared. As summer advanced his illness increased. Dr. Livingston was consulted, and found that consumption had made too fatal progress. He prescribed his immediate removal from Scalan, as, if anything could save him, it must be relief from anxiety and change of air. Bishop Hay, on his way to Scalan on the 1st of July, visited at a place called Brachlach, to see Mr. Dawson. He found him somewhat easier, but by no means out of danger. Even if he should recover, it would necessarily be a long time before he could resume

his charge. The Bishop found that the change of masters had greatly benefitted the seminary. There was a considerable diminution of expense, so that a greater number of students could be maintained on the funds. The improvements which the Bishop had suggested were in course of being so well carried out that he was induced to say it gave him comfort amidst his other difficulties.

In May of the same year, Mr. Cruikshanks, who had been formerly chaplain at Traquair, and who had for some time been living retired at Edinburgh with Bishop Geddes, departed this life at the age of seventy-four. It is superfluous to say that so good a man was much lamented, not only by the Bishops and clergy, but also by all who knew him.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century great efforts were made by the Scotch Bishops in order to educate ecclesiastics, as well as other members of the Catholic community. It was a difficult task in face of the persistent persecution of that time. The schools which Bishop Nicholson and his coadjutor, Bishop Gordon, established, were situated in the more remote and least accessible districts of the Highlands. These were very useful for a time in preparing students for the foreign colleges and the general education of Catholic youth. At length, about the year 1712, the Bishops, availing themselves

of the greater quiet which prevailed, and urged by the want of missionary priests, conceived the project of erecting a seminary in a less remote locality, where, in addition to the purposes which their schools had hitherto served, they might themselves train ecclesiastics and ordain priests for supplying the pressing wants of the mission. Aid was asked and obtained from abroad, and their plan was realized. A place, admirably suited to their purpose, was found in a retired part of the extensive lands of the Catholic Duke of Gordon. The chosen spot was far from any public thoroughfare, concealed from view by a circle of hills, and, at the time, partly surrounded by a morass—the only road to it a bridle path. It was just such a place as the Bishops had in view. Mr. William Reid, who was well acquainted with it, stated in 1778, that it was in as cold and stormy a region as there is in Scotland; and that the greater part of the provisions and things necessary for the house must be brought from a distance. But, as there was no security, as yet, against persecution, the very ruggedness and remoteness of the situation were its best recommendation. The infant seminary, besides, when so placed, could rely on the protection of the powerful house of Gordon, the chiefs of which had so long been vigourous supporters of the Catholic cause. On a not very lofty eminence, close to the

left or western branch of a mountain stream, the Crombie, an affluent of the Livat, Bishop Gordon set down his seminary. There, in due time, he ordained priests; several who were educated there became distinguished—one in particular, who ever after bore the distinctive appellation, "Scalanensis." There also, Dr. Hugh MacDonald, so well known as the first Bishop of the Highland district, received his education.

In those evil days the remoteness of the situation did not always save the seminary from violence. The ministers of the Kirk renewed, from time to time, their hostility against the Catholic religion, disturbing its professors and directing their fury, in such ways as to inflict the greatest injury. In such circumstances, the seminary enjoyed no immunity. It was attacked several times by armed soldiers, who dispersed the community and shut up the house. Such was its hard lot in 1726; but, in the following year, the Bishops were enabled, through the influence of the Duke of Gordon, to re-open the seminary. In 1728, its occupants were again dispersed, twice over, in the short space of two months. On these occasions there was so little damage done, that soon afterwards, the establishment was once more occupied by its owners, and the usual course of study resumed. About the year 1738, Bishop Gordon considerably enlarged

the building ; and the superintendence was confided to Mr. William Duthie, a convert from Protestantism, who had studied at Paris, and also had been ordained there. In a month after the defeat at Culloden, a troop of soldiers burned the house to the ground, scarcely allowing the students and their masters time to escape to the hills, carrying with them their books and their altar furniture. Mr. Duthie, the president, was not, however, to be put down. He lived in a peasant's cottage until a place of shelter could be got ready for him at the site of the seminary. Such were his courage and spirit of perseverance, that he remained there till the year 1758, when his services being required at Edinburgh, he removed to that city. The seminary, as may be supposed, was in a very poor condition, and so remained until the Bishops who succeeded its founders, greatly feeling the want of such an institution, resolved on its restoration. The first step was the appointment of a competent rector ; and such a one was found in the person of Mr. John Geddes, not long after his return from Rome. By his mental gifts he was peculiarly well qualified for the charge ; but ill able, from the weakness of his constitution, to bear the fatigue and anxiety incident to the position. The place where the students lived, a mere hut, was not adapted for study. The indefatigable Mr.

Geddes, accordingly, lost no time in providing a commodious house on the opposite, or right bank of the river Crombie. To this house additions were made from time to time. The last of these was in progress when Bishop Hay assumed the office of President. Under the rule of Mr. Geddes, discipline, study and economy prevailed ; and so prosperous was the seminary that it had a greater number of ecclesiastical students ready to meet the demands of the foreign colleges than was required to supply them.

As has been shown, Bishop Hay undertook the charge of Scalán, when Mr. Dawson became so ill as to be unable to act. He was a very efficient President. He spent much of his time with the students, not only at the hours of study, but also in recreation time ; encouraging them in every possible way. His stay at the seminary was otherwise profitable. It afforded him the opportunity of learning from personal observation what outlay was necessary for securing its efficiency ; by retrenching all superfluous expenses, he laid down a sure and permanent basis for economy in the future ; and by paying a handsome board for himself, he relieved the house from its pecuniary difficulties. Having occasion to spend a week at Aberdeen, he placed the work of the new building at Scalán, under the superintendence

of Mr. Guthrie. He was much in want of a good altar piece for the new chapel there, and requested that his coadjutor would send to him an *Ecce Homo*, which Lady Chalmers had presented to him, and which had, for some time, adorned the altar "in the little closet of the back chapel in the old house, Blackfriars' Wynd." At the same time, he imparted to Bishop Geddes the mournful news that Mr. Andrew Dawson, the late rector of Scalan, departed this life on the 2nd of September, about 4 o'clock in the morning.

Bishop Geddes, after having been with his colleagues at Gibston, where the annual meeting was held, visited, on his way back to Edinburgh, his Catholic friends at Mortlach and in the Enzie, remaining in the latter place till the vigil of the Assumption. On that day, in the morning, he left Rannes, the seat of Mr. Andrew Hay, in company with the Rev. John Reid, partook of a fish dinner at the Earl of Findlater's and parted with Mr. Reid at Banff. From that town he proceeded partly on foot and partly on horseback, making a missionary tour through the destitute district of Buchan, saying Mass, preaching and hearing confessions at various places. In walking from the neighbourhood of Peterhead to Fetternear, he passed through Ellon, the birthplace of his old friend, Mr. Guthrie. The thought of his

early friend, induced him to get a man to point out to him the house of Mr. Ross, the joiner, Mr. Guthrie's old master. He returned to Edinburgh, early in September, by way of Dundee and St. Andrew's. Once at home, he wrote to Bishop Hay, promising the *Ecce Homo* ; and also informing the Bishop of some slight disturbance there was at Glasgow on occasion of Mr. McDonald's last visit. The same month Mr. Æneas Chisholm, afterwards Bishop in the Highlands, who had been for some time prefect of studies at Douai, passed through Edinburgh, on his way to Strathglass, to the mission of which he was appointed. It may not be of much importance to mention that he dined one day, together with Bishop Geddes, at the house of Mr. Arbuthnot, a Protestant gentleman, whose wife was a Catholic. But it is interesting, as showing the ideas that prevailed in regard to the two Bishops, to learn that the host took occasion to speak privately to the young priest, and offer him some good advice which might be useful to him. "There," said he, alluding to the two Bishops, "are two of the best men alive; but let me advise you to take Bishop Geddes for a model, rather than Bishop Hay. You know the severe things the latter has published about salvation out of your Church. I once spoke of them to Bishop Geddes, and hoped that he did not think the same way. He answered me only by

saying, 'That is certainly the doctrine of our Church.'" Bishop Hay's plans for the improvement of the seminary had proved very successful. He was in high spirits, and wrote as follows to Bishop Geddes: "Who knows but Scalan may yet turn to be of good service in place of the college at Rome?.....Our present subjects seem all very promising." The Bishop's health, too was all that could be desired; and, to complete his satisfaction, the harvest had been all secured much earlier than usual, a fortunate event which had not been witnessed since the year 1781.

Now were heard the first rumblings of the great political earthquake which was destined to overthrow the French monarchy and throw all Europe into confusion. Such was the anxiety of Principal Gordon, of the Scotch College at Paris, that so early as November in this year, he wrote, desiring to know how the Bishops of Scotland wished to dispose of the funds belonging to the mission, and at the time invested in French securities. Would they prefer to withdraw them at once, or await the results of the approaching meeting of the States general? Bishop Hay was inclined to leave the mission funds in Paris as long as the Principal, who must be the best judge, should think it unnecessary to withdraw the College funds. They should remain or be withdrawn together. (Dec. 12, 1788.)

In the beginning of January, 1789, Bishop Hay and his community were buried in snow and without the means of communicating with any other place. About the end of the month there came a thaw which raised the mountain streams to such a height as to cause as great an impediment to intercourse with the outer world as the snow had done. Letters had to wait whole days before they could be despatched. In a letter of 31st January, the Bishop expressed the gratification which the coadjutor's last report about Glasgow had given him, and hoped that their anticipations would meet with no "let." The winter did not end with the great thaw; and during the greater part of March, frost, wind and snow disputed with one another possession of the wild glen. The snow lay deeper and longer than at any previous period of the winter. At length, however, the state of the weather permitted the priests of the neighbourhood to reach the seminary on Holy Thursday (April 9,) although only a week before it seemed impossible that they should do so.

Among other places which Bishop Geddes visited was the town of Berwick, Bishop Gibson having admitted that it belonged to the Scotch mission. The Bishop prolonged his journey as far as York, in order to meet Mr. Douglas, the priest there, with whom he had become acquainted at Valladolid, when

Mr. Douglas was Prefect of the English College there. They travelled together to Stella Hall, and stayed a day or two with Bishop Gibson.

CAP. XL.

THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC COMMITTEE—MEMORIAL TO MR. PITT—DISABILITIES PARTIALLY REMOVED—PRESHOME CHURCH—BISHOP GEDDES ANXIOUS FOR GLASGOW—TOLERATION ADVANCING—BISHOP GEDDES AND ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH—HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH EMINENT MEN—DEPOPULATION OF THE HIGHLANDS—EDINBURGH GROWING—NEW SECRETARY OF PROPAGANDA—SEVERE WINTER—BISHOP HAY WILL NOT HAVE BERWICK IN THE MISSION---CONVERSIONS IN THE NORTH—A FRIENDLY PROTESTANT—MUSIC IN CHURCHES—AN INSUPERABLE OBJECTION—SEMINARY AT SAMALAMAN ENLARGED—CONVERSIONS—REV. DONALD CARMICHAEL—BISHOPS AT FORMAL MEETING DECLINE SENDING STUDENTS TO ROME—SCALAN PROSPEROUS—BOOKS FROM ROME—FEAR OF A BAD SEASON.

The “Catholic Committee” of England was once more at work, laudably engaged in endeavouring to obtain the repeal of the remaining penal laws. They had presented in February, 1788, a memorial on the subject to Mr. Pitt. That minister gave a favourable reply. There were, however, certain technical difficulties, and he recommended that they should

delay their application to Parliament till the following session, and requested that, in the meantime, they should provide him with authentic evidence of the opinion held by the Catholic clergy and the universities with respect to the existence or the extent of the power, alleged to belong to the Pope, of dispensing subjects from their oath of allegiance to their Sovereign. Hence the application that became so famous, to the Catholic universities of the Sorbonne, of Louvain, Douai, Alcala and Salamanca, for an opinion on the subject. Both the minister and the committee were satisfied with the replies, and on the 19th of April, 1788, it was resolved to prepare a bill for the desired repeal. This work was confided to Mr. Butler; and if the committee could have had the bill framed as they originally designed, it would have placed the Catholics in the position of dissenters generally, without an oath of any kind. It may be mentioned, as showing that the committee was not entirely under lay influence, that in May, 1788, Bishop James Talbot, Bishop Berington, coadjutor in the Midland district, and Mr. Thomas Wilks, O. S. B., were added to its members. The distrust experienced by the clergy, as to the ulterior purposes of the committee, appears now to have passed away. Bishop Hay considered that, as an effort was made to relieve the English Catholics of their disabilities,

something might be done, at the same time, for Scotland; and he suggested to his coadjutor that some friendly person might be induced to use his influence in favour of the Scotch Catholics. Could not Bishop Geddes prevail on his friend, Mr. Henry Dundas, to interest himself in the cause and undertake to promote some measure of relief, either himself, or through some of his powerful friends?

Some hindrance was caused by the action of Lord Stanhope, who had charge of a bill in favour of certain classes of non-conformists, but who was not unfriendly to the Catholics. He recommended that the committee should adopt a form of protestation which he framed, disclaiming certain opinions which were falsely ascribed to the Catholics. The committee considered the protestation; and, from deference to the opinions of Bishops Thomas and James Talbot, made some alterations, when it was accepted. All the Bishops and nearly all the Catholic gentry and clergy in England affixed their signatures to it. A copy of it, together with a petition for the repeal of the obnoxious laws, was then laid before Parliament. In addition, the minister demanded an oath; and the committee was asked for a form which would meet the views of the Catholics. A form of oath, accordingly, was prepared, which, it was thought, would prove acceptable, as it was only an echo of

the protestation, to which the whole Catholic body had formally assented. The ministry introduced an alteration to which the clerical members of the committee made no objection. Bishop Hay expressed strong dislike both to the oath and the protestation. This feeling was intensified by the exaggerated impression which the Bishop had received from the Aberdeen newspapers, through which only he was, as yet, acquainted with the matter. All the Bishops of England, meanwhile, had signed the protestation, and two of them, who were members of the committee, gave their sanction to the proposed form of oath. The opinion of the oath throughout England was, however, quite in accordance with that of the Scotch Bishop. There does not appear to have been anything positively unorthodox in the oath or the protestation. But the language was coarse and unpalatable to Catholics. Bishop Geddes, in writing to Bishop Gibson, said "the oath was very exceptionable." In a letter to Mr. Thompson he wrote that much of the opposition to it was provoked by the designation of "*Protesting Catholic Dissenters*," which was inserted in it and in the proposed bill. For his part he would always call himself a *Catholic*, or, if there must be an addition, let it be only *Roman* or some such honourable word. Bishop Hay entertained a still less favourable opinion. He considered the oath

an equivalent to the Oath of Supremacy. It does not appear, however, that it was so interpreted by the English Bishops, however much they may have disliked it. This feeling was so decided that they issued a circular letter addressed to their people condemning the oath, and forbidding Catholics to take it. Government, at length, was moved to modify the offensive expressions in the oath. Bishop Thomas Talbot alone was inclined to accept the oath as amended. Dr. John Douglas, who had succeeded Bishop James Talbot as Bishop in London, together with his two colleagues, gave no countenance to the amended oath and published a circular letter, similar to the former one, forbidding it to the Catholics in their districts. The Catholic Committee, wearied and distracted by so much variety of opinion, made no further attempt to alter the oath. The House of Commons, more friendly at the time to Catholics, passed the bill and oath without a dissenting voice. In the House of Lords, the Bishops had sufficient influence to cause the oath to be amended so as to meet their views. The English Relief Bill now became law. This is the more extraordinary as some ten years later it was found to be impossible to remove the remaining disabilities, notwithstanding the good will and the powerful efforts of Mr. Pitt. The obstinacy of George III. was unconquerable.

There now arose some difficulty at Preshome, so well known for a long time as the chief seat of the Catholic religion in the North. The new church had cost double what Mr. Reid had calculated on. The zealous priest was not, however, discouraged. *illi robur et æs triplex circa pectus erat.* And his numerous congregation, which had at first contributed so liberally, was well able and not unwilling to assist him.

About the same time there was considerable anxiety on account of the mission at Glasgow, as yet in its beginnings. This arose from a threatening and anonymous letter which claimed to convey the determination of a body of men combined for repressing the growth of Catholicity. The magistrates of the city assured Bishop Geddes that the annoying letter was the work of a malicious person, and not of a combination. This, on mature enquiry, the Bishop found to be the case. Bishop Hay was not surprised at the anxiety of his colleague. Knowing, as he did so well, the character of the people, he dreaded lest the letter might be the prelude to something worse. When, however, the facts were discovered, he expressed his satisfaction that there had resulted no evil consequence; the circumstance having only shown that the dangerous spark, which might be so easily fanned into a flame, was still alive among "that

poor fanatical people." The age was advancing, and it would have required many sparks to stifle the spirit of toleration that was fast gaining ground.

The great care which Bishop Geddes bestowed on Glasgow and the other missions, did not prevent him from finding leisure for much correspondence on matters of antiquarian interest, on taste and literature.

Among his papers of this time are found letters from Principal Robertson, George Chalmers, author of "Caledonia," General Hutton, Dr. John Gregory, Sir William Forbes, Sir Alexander Livingston, the Duke of Montague and the Earl of Buchan. These letters from Protestant noblemen and gentlemen, most of whom were eminent literary characters, abound in courtesy, and are full of expressions of personal regard.

Writing to Mr. Thompson, April 18, the good Bishop expresses his regret that the Highland missions were likely to suffer from the depopulation of large tracts of country, to make way for sheep farms, whilst on the other hand, it was cheering to observe that Edinburgh was increasing. It was gradually advancing westwards. Hanover street, Frederick street, and even Castle street were formed. That fine building, the Register House, was completed, St. James' Square built, and the enlargement of Leith harbour begun.

Mgr. Borgia, who, as Secretary of 'Propaganda, had shown much friendship to the Scotch mission, was now elevated to the Cardinalate; the Bishops hoped, however, that his successor in the secretaryship would prove as friendly as His Eminence had always been. On occasion of sending a letter of congratulation to the new Cardinal, the Bishop imparted to the agent his views regarding Scalan. He had found the seminary in a state of confusion both within doors and without, and need of reform in its management. His expense in putting everything in order had been considerable. He regretted it not, however, as by the end of summer he hoped to complete his labours, and thus cause the seminary to be of more benefit to the mission than it had hitherto been. The winter had been unusually severe, but, nevertheless he enjoyed excellent health. Some additional expense was incurred by sending for letters to Keith or Huntley. But this was made up for by the diminishing of his cost for board, which was much less than when resident in a town. His only regret at the time was that nothing could be done towards improving the condition of the Scotch College at Rome. Bishop Geddes now wrote to compliment him on the recurrence of the anniversary of his consecration. Bishop Hay, in acknowledging the compliment, took occasion to write that whatever

Bishop Gibson might say about Berwick, it had never formerly been considered as part of the Scotch Lowland district ; and it appeared to him ridiculous that when there were two English churchmen within ten or twelve miles of it, you should be troubled with journeying thither. He never could and never would agree to such an arrangement. It was unreasonable, he insisted, that Bishop Geddes should take new and unnecessary burdens upon himself when they could not manage to fulfil their essential duties in what certainly belonged to them. The more pleasing news came from Bishop Geddes that bank dividends were continuing at eight per cent. It was still more gratifying to learn that conversions were occurring in the cold north. Two ladies of Orkney, a Mrs. Trail and her sister, Miss Chapman, had just been received into the Church, Mr. Trail fully consenting. Mrs. Trail was not destined to be the last convert of the name. Our age has been edified by the conversion of another lady of the name of Trail, who was long known as Sister Agnes Xavier. As further proof of the good understanding which now prevailed between Catholics and well-informed Protestants, it may be mentioned that when the Bishop had occasion to visit Lady Livingstone at Westquarter, who was a Catholic, her husband, Sir Alexander, although he was a Protestant, showed

himself very friendly, and always sent his carriage to convey the Bishop a stage on his way to Glasgow.

A new subject of discussion arose from a very general desire among the congregations to have singing at the public services. Bishop Geddes and many of the clergy favoured this desire. It was, however, vigourously opposed by Bishop Hay, whose vivid recollection of former riots inspired him with the fear of fresh disturbances which the practice might occasion. Mr. Mathieson, who was missionary apostolic in the parish of Bellie, and who was an amateur musical instrument maker of distinguished ability, addressed to Bishop Geddes a long, eloquent and most ingenious pleading for the introduction of music into the Catholic churches. In his paper on the subject he fully discussed the merits of the case, as it was to be considered at the approaching meeting of the Bishops. Edinburgh had already made trial of music, as had also Mr. Mathieson's small chapel at Tynet, into which he had introduced it with the consent of Bishop Geddes. It could not, of course, be generally adopted without the sanction of the Bishop. The experiment at Tynet had cost much labour and expense. But not in vain. The result was larger congregations at Christian doctrine on Sunday afternoons. The chapel was also better attended on holydays than ever before ; he might

say it was crowded. The people generally were edified, although, as was to be supposed, some objected to the innovation. As to exciting the jealousy of Protestants and occasioning unpleasant proceedings on their part, it only caused them to express surprise that Catholics had so long neglected congregational singing. Mr. Mathieson had made sure of their distinct approbation by wisely consulting several of various denominations. It was objected that the music was not well performed. The better attendance showed, if not that the music was excellent, that the congregation was well pleased with it. As to its excellence or inferiority, opinion would be formed according to taste and judgment. It would not be difficult, Mr. Mathieson conceived, to have as good music as their Presbyterian neighbours of the Church of Scotland. He was sustained by leading members of the clergy. Mr. James Robertson, now settled at Edinburgh, assured Bishop Geddes that his opinion was more and more confirmed that the introduction of music into the larger congregations was both practicable and desirable. Mr. John Gordon, missionary apostolic at Aberdeen, addressed his uncle, Bishop Geddes, to the same effect. It is difficult to understand how there could be *High Mass*, or even a *Missa cantata*, without singing. The use of any other music than

that which belongs to such Masses, is certainly questionable. It does not seem reasonable that there should be chanting by the choir or the congregation during those parts of the Mass which the priest is directed to read or chant aloud, the *Gloria*, *Preface*, *Credo*, etc. At afternoon services, when vespers cannot be chanted, any devotional singing or music may be edifyingly introduced. None knew all this better than Bishop Hay. And, indeed, he expressed in the strongest terms the pleasure it would give him to see music introduced into their churches, if circumstances were such as to render it advisable. He promised even to encourage it, if it could be conducted with propriety and decency.

Bishop MacDonald was unable this year from an accident by which his leg was injured, to attend the meeting at Scalan. He was engaged at the time in enlarging his seminary at Samalaman, in the West Highlands. Bishop Hay and his coadjutor were the only Bishops present when the usual report was despatched to Rome. Bishop Geddes, on his way to Scalan visited Stobhall, and confirmed there, among others, a substantial farmer from Stormont, named Carmichael, a convert, together with his wife, his four sons and his two daughters. One of the sons was the late Donald Carmichael, many years procurator at St. Mary's College, Blairs, and who died a

few years ago at an advanced age, when in charge of the mission at Peterhead. It was resolved at the meeting to continue to decline sending students to the Scotch College at Rome until some security should be given for reform in that institution. Scalan promised well ; and it could be none the worse for the Bishop's resolution to spend the next five years there, provided there occurred nothing to prevent him. No young priest could be expected from Scalan for three years ; and about the same time, before any of its subjects would be called for by a foreign college. The Bishop hoped in the meantime to advance the studies of some of them beyond what was usually attained by boys destined only for a short residence in the seminary. For this purpose he commissioned Mr. Thompson to purchase and send to him some necessary books ; such as *De chronia de arte Rhetorica*, *Cicero's Epistles*, *Minelli's*, if possible *Sterghenan's Instituta logicæ et Metaphysicæ*, and any other suitable work in Latin, history or philosophy. Cardinal Antonelli, also, would perhaps send him some from Propaganda. The summer in the country around Scalan had been very rainy. Unless improvement came soon very little grain would ripen, and there would be no peats, on which kind of fuel the people in those parts were very dependent. The rising of the barometer, however,

afforded good hopes. The Crombie, in consequence of the heavy rains, rose higher in a few hours than was remembered by any one in the locality. At Banff, Keith and Elgin there had been terrific storms of thunder and rain, together with loss of life in some cases. At Scalan thunder was heard beyond the hills, but none in the vicinity.

CAP. XLI.

ANXIETY CAUSED BY THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—INCEN-
 DIARY FIRE AT STOBHALL—ORDER AGAINST MUSIC
 IN CHURCHES ENFORCED—ADESTE FIDELES—
 INSANITY—HIGHER STUDIES AT SCALAN—DEATH
 OF THE DUCHESS OF ALBANY—FIRST UNITED STATES
 OF AMERICA BISHOP—PROHIBITION OF MUSIC
 RELUCUTANTLY OBEYED—A CATHOLIC SOCIETY—
 VISITING THE MISSIONARY PRIESTS—DANGER OF
 MUSIC IN CHURCHES AROUSING LATENT HOSTILITY
 —EDUCATION OF THE POOR—LIBERALITY OF THE
 MAGISTRATES ON OCCASION OF AN EXECUTION—
 CARDINAL ALBANI MORE FRIENDLY—NO APPROVAL
 BY BISHOP GEDDES OF DR. A. GEDDES' SCRIPTURES
 —BISHOP GEDDES MISREPRESENTED.

Mr. Thomson, writing to Bishop Geddes, augured the worst consequences from the incipient revolution in France. Many eminent statesmen and patriots in England, meanwhile, were exulting over the fall of the Bastille and the extinction of despotism. Mr. Thomson showed himself more penetrating by his sinister predictions than Edmund Burke, who could not see the extent of the tragedy and overthrow that were in progress, until the forced return from

Versailles to Paris, of the unfortunate king, in the hands of the Parisian populace. Bishop Geddes, on his return from the meeting, visited his old friends in the Enzie. He found the new Church at Preshome well advanced. The slaters were busy roofing it. The Earl of Findlater had presented a fine painting of Gregory the Great, a masterpiece of one of the Caracci.

From the 18th to the 19th of August an incendiary fire occurred at Stobhall. The priest's servant and another man having been awakened by the smoke, gave the alarm and called Mr. Macpherson. Some of the neighbours cheerfully gave their assistance in extinguishing the flames ; others stood by or passed on unconcerned. But for the calm weather the whole premises must have been consumed. As it was, the fire was subdued, whilst only the thatch on one side of the chapel was destroyed. The fire having been willfully raised, and so many of the neighbours declining to aid in extinguishing it, there could be no doubt that the evil spark was still alive, and that the greatest caution was necessary to avoid any step that might fan it into a flame. On this account Bishop Hay considered that they were justified in the joint resolution which they had taken of putting a stop to the singing scheme, and he entreated his coadjutor to see it acted on without

delay wherever singing was found to be in use. The Bishops at their recent meeting had concluded against singing in the churches. It was not, however, easily put down. Mr. Robertson informed Bishop Geddes that the orders relative to music had been received with all due submission, but that it was impossible all at once to get rid of their teacher. His friend, Mr. Menzies, on the other side of the street, had some hopes that the order against music would be recalled. He had none. But as it had been confided to the prudence of each missionary priest, he intended to let it dwindle away gradually, rather than stop it suddenly. It is said to be due to Mr. Menzies and his Highland congregation that the popular Christmas hymn, *Adeste Fideles*, was introduced into Scotland. It rapidly became the fashion in the city ; apprentice boys whistled it in every street. It was even said that the black birds in the squares joined in the chorus. It is not a little remarkable that this Catholic hymn is now to be found in almost every collection of Presbyterian Church music, under the name of the *Portuguese hymn*.

Mr. Thomson feared lest the severe climate of Scaln should prove injurious to his friend, Bishop Hay. "Bishop Gordon, indeed," he wrote, "resided there frequently, during the latter days of his life, but only to retire from the hurry of business and

enjoy a little respite from his apostolic labours. He chose that place because he had been the founder of it, always had a particular attachment to it, and treated it with peculiar favour." It was by no means certain that it would prove equally favourable to the health of Bishop Hay. A friend at Rome had requested the agent there to ascertain what books or other things the Bishop would like to have for his own private use, in order that this good friend, known to have been a Mr. Waters, might have the pleasure of sending them to him.

There were but few cases of insanity among the clergy. That of Mr. Gordon, brother of the principal at Paris, has been already alluded to. Another melancholy instance occurred in the person of Mr. James Cameron. This priest's mind became so affected that he wandered about the country for several months. It was finally arranged that he should reside with Mr. Macpherson at Stobhall.

If one may judge from a list of books at Scalan, a higher class of studies was now pursued there, under the auspices of its episcopal president. The books referred to which were sent from Edinburgh, were, among others, Altieri's Italian and English dictionary, Schrevilius' Lexicon, Eachard's classical dictionary, Knoxes' history of Scotland; two copies of a translation of the Mass, lately made by Mr. Robertson,

priest at Edinburgh, and Buchan's medicine, a new edition of which was soon to appear, when it also would be sent. Besides these books, there was a Gunter's scale, a terrestrial globe and a ring dial, or astronomical ring of Bishop Geddes' own manufacture, and which he took pains to describe as designed for the old style. A set of purple vestments was also sent at the same time. Bishop Geddes, on occasion of sending these things, informed his right rev. friend, that a form of faculties which he had been preparing, was not yet printed. He asked the Bishop whether he would recommend that their form should be limited "till they are recalled," or to a certain number of years, say two or three? He was himself in favour of the former way. He could not conclude his letter without entreating the Bishop, and it was not till after serious consideration of the matter, to permit the singing of some hymns at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, on Sunday afternoons.

In a letter of 28th Nov., 1789, Mr. Thomson, informed Bishop Geddes of the death of the Duchess of Albany at Bologna, on the 17th Nov., 1789. The agent states in his letter that "she died in an edifying manner, and was much regretted." She left the Cardinal, Duke of York, her heir. There is also in Mr. Thomson's news the nomination of the first American Catholic Bishop of Baltimore, in the

person of Mr. Carryl (Carroll.) He was mistaken, however, in stating that the United States had refused to receive a Vicar Apostolic with the title of Bishop *in partibus*. On the contrary, they declined all interference in the matter.

It would appear that Bishop Geddes concurred reluctantly in the peremptory prohibition of music which Bishop Hay had issued. He now according to promise, prepared his reasons for requesting that the prohibition should be so far modified as to admit of some hymns being sung in the churches of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, after Christian doctrine on Sunday afternoons. Great advantage, he insisted, would accrue to religion from the use of suitable music; and such had been sanctioned by the Church in every age. Music was mentioned by St. Justin, as part of divine worship, even at a time when the Christians were obliged to assemble in the catacombs. As to danger, from all that Bishop Geddes could observe, there was not the slightest fear of anything arising in consequence of the use of music in the churches. The great majority of the Catholics wished it, and they could not be made to understand why the Bishop should not encourage the practice. The prohibition was obeyed prudently and by degrees. But for this wise moderation, there certainly would have been scandal. The Bishop gave great weight

to the following consideration: Sunday afternoons and evenings were times of peculiar danger to young persons. It was, therefore, a matter of great importance to attract them to chapel to Christian doctrine and devotion. In forwarding this desirable object, music would be a powerful influence. Its practice would also be a distant preparation for having High Mass sung on some festivals, which will tend greatly to the edification of the faithful when it shall be found to be expedient. "Your predecessor," he concludes, "was very desirous of seeing this; and what he said to me on the subject was one of the reasons which I had for causing Church music to be taught at Valladolid. I wish the same were done in all our houses abroad. I beg you will consider all this; and I hope you will give a favourable answer to our petition. You shall hear of and see the good effects of it."

Catholics could now associate, and in the most public manner, for mutual benefit. So early as 1785 a burial society called "St. Andrew's Catholic society" was formed in the congregations of Edinburgh. It was so far successful that in November, 1789, its statutes, laws and regulations were made public in order to attract attention to it, and, in consequence, rendered it more efficient. Only Catholics of good moral character and sound constitution and

whose age was not over thirty-six years could be admitted as members. A member, after five years of membership, was entitled to receive five shillings weekly, in the event of his becoming indigent. The expense of funerals was provided for from the funds of the society. The society was managed by a president, six directors, a treasurer and a clerk, who were elected annually. There were also three arbiters for settling such disputes as might arise between members. From their decision no appeal was permitted to any court of law. Parties who gave donations became honorary members. This society continued in full operation for many years. It was finally wound up, from thirty to forty years ago, and its capital divided among the members.

As appearances indicated severe weather at Scalan, it was thought best to appoint that the holy oils should be blessed at Edinburgh.

The Bishops were agreed as to the advantage of their visiting each missionary priest once in the year. This, however, although desirable, could not be done. The small number of priests rendered it necessary that the Bishops themselves should often attend to parochial duties. Hence, considering also their episcopal functions throughout each district, it was impossible for them to visit the clergy frequently, or reside with them any length of time. Their presence,

therefore, must be dispensed with except in cases of business which could not be transacted by letter.

This year, 1790, the Bishop, notwithstanding the representations of Bishop Geddes, still held to his determination of prohibiting music in the churches. He had a more lively sense than his coadjutor of the lurking danger which existed. In some places, no doubt, Mr. Mathieson's mission, for instance, which was under the powerful wing of the Dukes of Gordon, any amount of music and singing would have been perfectly safe. But it would not have been so throughout the missions generally, where much less than a musical celebration of Catholic worship might, at any moment, have roused to activity the latent spark which was far from being extinguished. It was still alive, indeed, at a much later epoch, when the spirit of the age condemned it to inactivity.

The question of music being, for the time, disposed of, the Bishop gave his attention to another subject of great importance, the proper education of the children of the poorer classes. A Mr. Fleming kept a charity school near Scalan, at a place called Badevochla, causing such of the children to pay as he thought were able to do so. He obliged them to learn his Protestant catechism on Saturdays, threatening to expel all who refused. Mr. James Carruthers, the priest of the place, could not fail to see the injury

that was thus done to the children of his congregation. Their heads were filled with erroneous ideas, the very opposite of what their parents and pastor taught them. They also became confused in their minds and were prevented from learning their own catechism, their time being given to Mr. Fleming's. Mr. Carruthers found a remedy. He brought from Galloway a young man, a native of Ireland, who had come to Scotland with a view of obtaining a situation as school master. His qualifications appear to have been superior to those of Mr. Fleming. He could teach reading, writing and arithmetic. He was, besides, a good Latin scholar, and was superior to Mr. Fleming as a penman. The people were much pleased, procured for him a school room and sent their children to him, preferring to pay a teacher who could instruct their children according to their own principles. Mr. Fleming and his friends, as may be supposed, were much offended and threatened to memorialize the society at Edinburgh for propagating Christian knowledge. As a Catholic school master was still proscribed by law in Scotland, Bishop Hay, apprehending evil results from the memorial and the misrepresentation and exaggeration which would probably accompany it, requested his friend and coadjutor to use his influence with a gentleman who was a member of the Propagation

Society in order to counteract the bad effects of the Fleming appeal.

The delicate position in which the Catholics and clergy, and even the higher magistrates stood, at this time, is well illustrated by the circumstances of a capital execution. The town council resolved to permit any Catholic clergyman to assist the culprit publicly on the scaffold. The Lord Advocate, on being consulted, declared that he saw, in this no impropriety. Bailie (alderman) John Hutton, a friend and former school-fellow of Bishop Hay, communicated the resolution of the magistrates to Bishop Geddes. The Bishop, however, dreading lest some of the rabble should raise a noise, declined the kindly meant offer with thanks, considering it sufficient to attend the unfortunate man to the last moment, in prison, and to be stationed during the execution, in a window close at hand ; and so it was done. The magistrates invited the Bishop to dine with them after the dread ceremony. He could not but decline the invitation, whilst acknowledging their politeness. It would have been very unpleasant for him, on such an occasion, to accept, and would, besides, have made choice news for the populace. Bailie Hutton and Mr. Donaldson desired to be most kindly remembered to their old school-fellow, Bishop Hay. So also did his highly esteemed friend, Dr. Alexander Wood.

A change, at this time, came over the mind of Cardinal Albani, and he showed an inclination to be more friendly to the Scotch College. In view of the prospect which this better feeling afforded, Bishop Hay wrote to congratulate Mr. Thompson. It would appear that Bishop Geddes had given offence to some of their English friends by showing friendship to Dr. Alexander Geddes, and by so doing had injured himself and the Scotch mission. Bishop Hay remarked this in his correspondence with Mr. Thompson, and stated that he had remonstrated with his coadjutor. It is not, however, said that Bishop Geddes expressed any approval of Dr. A. Geddes' erroneous comments accompanying his translation of the Scriptures. He countenanced him as a distinguished man of letters, whilst, by breaking with him, he would have destroyed the best hope there was of the erring writer's reconciliation.

The great popularity of Bishop Geddes did not save him from misrepresentation. Some busy bodies among the Catholics of Edinburgh were pleased to circulate the rumour that Bishop Geddes, contrary to the prohibition which he and Bishop Hay had issued, allowed singing to take place openly in the Bishop's chapel ; that a new teacher of music had been engaged at a salary of £35 a year ; and that Bishop Hay was blamed for refusing a similar permission to Mr.

Menzies, on the other side of the street, a partiality which seemed to favour Bishop Geddes' chapel, on account of the rich people who frequented it. Bishop Hay, not knowing what to think of this rumour, wrote to his coadjutor for information. The latter, in his reply, remonstrated in the most spirited manner against such unfounded accusations. He writes at some length. It would be superfluous, however, to quote more than a few words of his letter. "Since our orders prohibiting it, there has been no music in this chapel, any more than in the other, excepting only one Sunday's afternoon, that in my absence at Glasgow, and that without any the least concurrence of mine, they had in this chapel *a trial of their music*, at which a good many persons of both congregations were present." There was a school of music. The Bishop continues: "It was represented to me that this school might be useful to the children, and might be a preparation for the time when we should see proper to introduce music into our chapels, which we ourselves were inclined to do as soon as we should see it prudent. The only proper answer that I thought I could give to this was, that they might have as many schools of music as they pleased, but that there would be no music in the chapel, until we should have our superior's full approbation. And to this, you may be persuaded, I have most strictly

adhered, which was, certainly, no more than my duty." Bishop Hay in his reply acknowledged that he had been falsely informed, and that the coadjutor's "explication of the matter was perfectly satisfying."

CAP. XLII.

FRIENDSHIP OF MGR. ERSKINE—BISHOP GEDDES' JOURNEY TO THE ORKNEYS—HE DINES WITH THE MAGISTRATES OF KIRKWALL—VISITS CULLODEN MOOR—600 MILES OF WALKING—THE EFFORT TOO GREAT—THE “BEGINNING OF THE END”—THE NEW CHURCH AT PRESHOME OPENED ON PENTECOST SUNDAY, MAY 23RD, 1789—CONCERN ABOUT THE SCOTCH COLLEGE AT PARIS—DISORDER AT DOUAI—SCRUPLES OF MR. MENZIES—BOOKS REQUIRED BY BISHOP HAY—DESIRE FOR LARGER CHURCHES—REQUEST OF BISHOP M'DONALD FOR A COADJUTOR—500 CATHOLICS GONE TO PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND—600 MORE TO FOLLOW—A PRIEST APPOINTED FOR P. E. ISLAND—BISHOP HAY KINDLY RECEIVED BY THE DUKE OF GORDON AND THE EARL OF FINDLATER—A FRIENDLY EPISCOPALIAN MINISTER—A PROPOSAL OF MGR. CAMERON, RECTOR AT VALLADOLID, REJECTED.

It afforded much consolation to Bishop Geddes at this time to receive a complimentary letter from Monsignor Erskine, by which the worthy prelate showed his friendly recollection of his former school-fellows who were now in Scotland. He desired to

be recalled to the kind and affectionate remembrance of Bishop Geddes, and prayed him when he should see Bishop Hay or any of his ancient comrades, to express to them his best wishes and compliments.

Bishop Geddes' many occupations could not divert him from his purpose of visiting for their comfort, his converts in the Orkneys. Bishop Hay was rather averse to his undertaking so long a journey, and doubted even whether Orkney were in the Lowland district. He did not, however, offer any hindrance and gave him the benefit of his prayers, wishing him a safe journey and a speedy return. He left Glasgow June 11th, in the evening, and passing through the romantic scenery of Stirlingshire and Perthshire, reached Fort Augustus on Lochness, in about ten days. While reading his office among the wild mountain passes of the Grampian range, his pious soul seemed to perceive new meaning in the words of the three children, *Benedicite montes et colles domino*. At the same time he was greatly distressed to observe the desolation of wide tracts of country, lately depopulated to make way for sheep farms. In Inverness-shire he found an old friend, a sister of Rev. John Reid, who was married to a sheep farmer, with whom he spent a pleasant Sunday. From Fort Augustus he passed through Glenmorriston and Strathglass ; thence, by Fasnakyle, to

Beaulieu, where he entered Ross-shire. By Dingwall and Tain he skirted along the coast to John O'Groat's house, the most northern point of the Scotch mainland, which he reached on the last day of June, without fatigue and in excellent health. He crossed the Pentland frith on July 1st, when a walk of ten or twelve miles interrupted by two smaller ferries, brought him to the mainland of Orkney, whence he crossed over to Kirkwall early in the morning of the following day. The weather was extremely fine, and before sailing for the Island of Sanda, where his friends resided, he wrote to Bishop Hay a narrative of his journey up to that date. "Just now," he says in his letter, "from the table where I write, I have the Cathedral, quite entire, over against me. What reflections! He hoped to reach Sanda the same evening, and then, on the festival of the Visitation, to begin his visit to his friends, on the most northerly spot he ever expected to reach." On his arrival at Sanda, the most northern but one of the Orkney Islands, the good Bishop found his friends in deep distress. Mr. Trail, the husband of one of them, was dangerously ill of fever. In eight days he became speechless, but was still in possession of all his senses. He took the Bishop's hand and kissed it, expressing a desire that he would pray with him. These signs, together with the sick man's well known esteem for

the Catholic religion, encouraged the Bishop to give him absolution, and he soon after expired. The very delicate circumstances of the Bishop's visit had prevented him from speaking sooner to his host. Besides, Mr. Trail's brother, a minister, was daily expected to arrive from Westra. He was not without hope, nevertheless, that his presence had been of some service to the soul of his host, although at the last moment. He was able at least to give some consolation to the bereaved lady, who with her little girl, three years of age, and her sister, Miss Chapman, in the course of a few weeks, bade adieu to Orkney and took up her residence at Edinburgh.

It says much for the improving spirit of the time that the Bishop, on his return, dined with the magistrates of Kirkwall and was entertained by them with the greatest civility. He had the pleasure also to meet there some of his Edinburgh friends, who had arrived for the election. It is well known that the accomplished prelate was interested in everything connected with the history of his native land. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that he spent some two or three hours on the fateful moor of Culloden. In the first week of August he was with Bishop Hay at Scalan. In less than eight weeks he had walked, as nearly as may be calculated, six hundred miles. The effort was too great. He was unwilling to admit

it ; but his friends observed that he had sustained serious and lasting injury from over exertion. It was "the beginning of the end" of an unusually bright career. Once more only active service on behalf of the mission was in store for him ; then years of growing infirmity and severe suffering, which he bore with all the patience of a martyr, and then his well-won rest.

The new church at Preshome was now complete, and solemnly opened on Pentecost Sunday, May 23rd.

The good Baronet of Letterfourie, who had done so much towards forwarding the building did not live to enjoy the fruit of his zealous labours. He was found dead in bed on the morning of 30th of April.

Mr. Mathieson had seen him two days before his death, when he never seemed in better health, or more full of plans and projects. They remained in conversation till midnight. The funeral was attended by the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Findlater and sixteen other gentlemen. Although Bishop Hay at one time pronounced the plan of the new church a romantic scheme, he now acknowledged, after having examined the completed building, that it was indeed a beautiful house and well executed. He sincerely prayed God to grant long and peaceable possession. No church of the like pretensions had been erected in Scotland since the "Reformation." In the elegance

and spaciousness of its internal proportions, it remains unsurpassed even till now by any other building of the kind in the country. A tablet over the principal entrance, towards the west, intimates its dedication, Dec. 1788, the year in which the foundation-stone was laid.

The revolution of France, which was now in progress, caused great anxiety to the Bishops on account of the college property held there. Mr. Farquarson represented so strongly the imminent danger of losing the Scotch establishment at Douai, that Bishop Hay, at his request, addressed the Bishop of the diocese, recommending the college to his protection. As regarded the college at Paris, Principal Gordon took steps such as were to be expected of him, by which he showed his determination to acknowledge no dependence on the Scotch Bishops. He communicated directly with the British Government. In consequence of his application, a despatch was addressed by the Duke of Leeds to Lord Robert Fitzgerald, the British *charge d'affaires* in Paris, instructing him to present a memorial to the French Government, if circumstances should render it necessary, on behalf of the Scotch College, Paris. He should represent the college as having long been property vested in British subjects ; and if it were no longer practicable to retain possession of it the British

Minister should endeavour to prevail on the French Government to allow the members of the college to dispose of their property and withdraw from the country, taking its value along with them. The Minister was authorized, moreover, to assure the French Government that their acquiescence would be exceedingly agreeable to his British Majesty and the nation. Such precautions were by no means uncalled for. The Scotch colleges, the Nuncio at Paris informed Cardinal Antonelli, were really in imminent danger. The Carthusians were no more; Grisi (the Scotch College), had no Superior but Principal Gordon. Mr. Thomson blames him for including his own college only in his application to the French Government. But as he was responsible only for it, more could not have been fairly expected. The guardians of other Scotch property in France might take measures on their own account.

Mr. Farquarson's account of the disorder which prevailed for some time at Douai, is of great value as illustrative of the sad results of the French revolution. "The most tyrannical Government," he observes, "is preferable to none at all. Better live under a Nero than be daily exposed to all the wild horrors of anarchy."

"Since the middle of May (he writes on July 5,) we are fairly at the mercy of our military. They hold

courts martial, dismiss whom they please, insult openly their officers and the clergy. For three days and four nights on end, the town exhibited an image of hell. Four thousand armed drunken soldiers, with impunity rioted all over, entered communities, forced nunneries, made their quarters good everywhere, and yet, to their honour be it said, no indecencies were committed. Our good nuns were greatly frightened at such nocturnal visits. Some seminarists were roughly handled, and one, in particular, for making a difficulty in joining the rioters, received a thrust which would have been mortal, had not the point of the sword met with a rib. The English students were repeatedly dragged through the streets, whilst my youths happily escaped. Similar disgraceful scenes have been repeated, though in a less degree. The students have in a great measure abandoned the town during the last ten days. Owing to the great exertions of our municipal officers we have enjoyed peace ; but we are much afraid of the approaching 14th of July. At present about 1,200 electors for the *assemblée du département*, fixed at Douai, are in town. Upon their choice our happiness greatly depends." Mr. Farquarson corresponded with the Bishop of Rhodéz, a member of the National Assembly, on the subject of the Scotch College. That prelate showed himself a true friend at this critical period. With his con-

currence Mr. Farquarson forwarded to Scotland a memorial to the Assembly, on behalf of the Scotch College at Douai, for the signatures of the Bishops and influential Catholic laymen, the Bishop of Rhodéz undertaking to present it and to exert all his influence in its support. Principal Gordon's memorial to the French Government had been presented to the Assembly, and thence referred to the *comité ecclésiastique*.

Bishop Geddes undertook to obtain signatures ; and he met with no hindrance till he came to Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels, who objected to the words *glorieuse memoire*, as applied to Louis XIV. He also criticised an expression which seemed to imply that the Catholic body in Scotland was still persecuted on account of religion. This difficulty was easily overcome by underlining the word *alors*, which immediately preceded the phrase in question. The other difficulty, even, was ultimately got over ; and the good man whose scrupulous honour remained sensitive as that of a child, added his signature. Eleven signatures, in addition to those of the Bishops, were obtained, and the memorial was immediately despatched to Douai.

The meeting at Scalan could not be held so early as usual this year, Bishop McDonald being detained at home by illness. Bishop Hay, meanwhile, re-

requested his coadjutor to procure for him at Edinburgh, the following books : Reid on Human Nature, some copies of English controversial works, Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, and a correct edition of Cicero's Epistles and Philosophical Works. The Bishop's studies, it would appear, were not confined to books, for he ordered, at the same time, two or three glass prisms, a conical bottle with a flat bottom, and a cure for the *morbus pedicularis*, used by a Mrs. Smith, with whom the boys lately returned to Scalan, lodged at Edinburgh.

There was a desire among the clergy for larger and more commodious churches ; this was opposed by the Bishop on the ground of expense which could be very ill afforded. "We are not content nowadays," he said, "with moderate beginnings, and bettering things by degrees ; but we must have all our conveniences at once." For the present necessities of Mr. Pepper's chapel at Dundee, notwithstanding, he contributed £5.

Bishop Macdonald arrived at Scalan in the beginning of September. Business was then at once proceeded with. In the letters to Rome, mention was made of Bishop Geddes' journey of some 600 miles on foot to visit his converts in Orkney, Bishop Macdonald also represented to Cardinal Antonelli his failing health and his great fatigue in travelling over

his scattered district, and among distant islands, requesting permission to have a coadjutor. His request was sustained, also, in consequence of the difficulties that lately occurred in England, owing to the death of two of the Bishops before successors had been provided. He informed the Scotch agent at Rome, in a private letter, that 500 Catholics had lately emigrated to St. John's Island (now Prince Edward's) and Quebec; and that 600 of South Uist were ready to follow them in the spring. This emigration greatly diminished their congregations, and some of the Highland missionary priests were in consequence, reduced to great distress. A sufficient number of their flocks remained to require their ministry; but these were themselves among the very poorest. Thus, Mr. Norman MacDonald, "a deserving clergyman," with his pittance of £12 a year, had to support his mother, his sister and his niece, since the departure of the most substantial amongst his people, the preceding summer. The emigrants to America, meanwhile, were not left spiritually destitute. The Bishop, yielding to the importunities of the Highland settlers in St. John's Island, had permitted Mr. Angus McEachern, "a valuable young man," to go out to them. They also succeeded in obtaining the ministry of a promising young priest from Halifax.

When the meeting was over Bishop Hay paid a visit to the Duke of Gordon, who was staying at his shooting lodge of Glenfiddich. Both the Duke and his guest, the Earl of Findlater, showed the kindest attentions to the Bishop. His Grace promised to visit Scalan, but when the time came was prevented by the severe weather.

Bishop Geddes concurred with the Bishop in regard to his protest against excessive expense in new churches. Nevertheless, he thought it not unreasonable that Catholics should have their places of worship in a condition suited to the progress of the time. The chapel at Edinburgh was now too small ; and the people expressed their desire to have a larger one. But the Bishop might rely on it that his coadjutor would enter on no such undertaking until sufficient means were at his disposal. It is characteristic of the better times that a Protestant minister, Dr. Webster, who was erecting a fine Episcopalian chapel beyond the infirmary, urged Bishop Geddes to take the second storey above his chapel for a Catholic place of worship. In the event of his consenting, Dr. Webster offered to erect a cupola. Bishop Geddes thanked him ; but declined the offer. The doctor was not satisfied with this refusal, and insisted that the matter should be referred to Bishop Hay. As was to be expected, Bishop Hay,

whilst he thanked the liberal minister for his kind offer, and sent to him his compliments, expressed his regret that circumstances were such at the time as to prevent him from accepting it.

Mr. Cameron, in writing from Valladolid, informed Bishop Geddes that it would not be possible to receive any more students till 1792, in consequence of the expenses incurred in building a small country house in the vineyard, together with the loss occasioned by the late bad years. This resolution the Bishop strongly condemned. When the need of priests was so great the want of them was surely of more consequence than some delay in paying a small debt. The Bishop ought not to yield to Mr. Cameron in this matter. If Bishop McDonald concurred, he would certainly send boys when others came home; and if Mr. Cameron should send them back, he must abide the consequences. "It was really a shame," he said, writing to Bishop Geddes, "that there should be such a proposal, and I intend you to write to Mr. Cameron strongly on the subject."

CAP. XLIII.

PORTUGUESE STUDENTS—BISHOP HAY AND SCALAN—
GLASGOW—VALLADOLID—COUNTRY SCHOOLS—
SCOTCH COLLEGES IN FRANCE—THE STEWART
PAPERS—THE BISHOP OF RHODEZ THANKED—
FAVOUR OF THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY TO THE SCOTCH
COLLEGES—RE-PUBLICATION OF BISHOP HAY'S
WORKS—BISHOP GEDDES' EXCESS OF DUTY—CON-
SECRATION OF THE FIRST AMERICAN BISHOP AT
LULWORTH CASTLE—MR. BURKE'S "REFLECTIONS
ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION"—BISHOP HAY
CONCERNED ABOUT THE SCOTCH COLLEGE AT PARIS
—THE "SINCERE CHRISTIAN" MUCH DESIRED IN
SCOTLAND—BISHOP GEDDES AND GLASGOW—
DECREASE OF PREJUDICE—TENNIS COURT AS A
CHAPEL—DIFFICULTY OF FINDING PRIESTS—
BISHOP HAY STILL AT SCALAN—WHAT WAS TAUGHT
IN CHARITY SCHOOLS—DREAD OF REVOLUTIONARY
CONTAGION SPREADING TO GREAT BRITAIN—
BISHOP HAY AND DR. REID'S PHILOSOPHY—SIR
JOHN DALRYMPLE'S HISTORICAL WORK—BISHOP
HAY AND MR. BAGNALL—COMPETENT TEACHERS
FOUND FOR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

Something truly new in the history of the mission
comes now to be recorded. Five young students

arrived from Portugal in order to prosecute their medical studies at Edinburgh. They were shortly afterwards followed by two more who had previously been to Denmark for a similar purpose. The Intendant General of Police at Lisbon had availed himself of the mediation of Mr. William Fryer, Superior of the English College there, for securing Bishop Geddes' co-operation in the arrangements intended to be made for the accommodation of the students. Mr. Fryer, accordingly corresponded with Bishop Geddes on the subject. The young men were to be sent at the expense of a charitable institution in which the Queen of Portugal took a deep interest. A house was to be taken for them, servants engaged and Bishop Geddes appointed Superior of their establishment. Board and lodgings were to be provided for him and a pension of 1,000 crowns a year, on his undertaking to superintend the temporal and spiritual affairs of the young men. Decency, rather than elegance, was to be studied in their table and their dress; and they were to be kept close to their work. Any idle or refractory members of the party were to be sent home at once. Notwithstanding the unexpected increase of his cares and responsibilities, the Bishop felt that he could not wholly decline the proposal, although it was impossible that he should reside in the same house with the young men. It was,

therefore, arranged that he should render whatever service was in his power in forwarding the scheme. His reputation had long ago extended from Madrid to Lisbon, so that her Portuguese Majesty, on hearing that he had consented to undertake a general superintendence of the plan, expressed the highest satisfaction, and it was settled that the Bishop's allowance should be equivalent to £110 a year in English money. He took a house for the young men in Chessel's court, Canongate, and early in October they began to reside there. In communicating the details of the affair to his friend at Scalan, he was not without fear that this new addition to his anxieties would not be approved. It was inevitable, however; and hoping that Providence would so direct it as to be serviceable to the common good, he commended it and himself to his friend's good prayers.

The Bishop, in his reply on the subject of the Portuguese colony, expressed his sense of the honour done to Scotland, and of the probable advantage to the mission; but regretted that his friend should be burdened with a charge so foreign to his principal duties. "It will require a great deal of time," he said, "and attention to keep these young students in proper order and preserve their morals in that corrupted place and dangerous study. May God Almighty assist. The Queen, indeed, has been very

generous to you. I pray God to enable you to employ it properly. I make no doubt but the design of Heaven in sending you that supply is to enable you to co-operate with me in placing the missions on an independent footing, and providing for all its difficulties ; and I hope you will always have that end in view." The Bishop further advised that the increase of income should remain a profound secret ; " for if friends came to know of it, he would be pestered without mercy, *experto crede*."

Bishop Hay now entertained the hope that he would be able to render Scalan available not only for the supply of foreign colleges, but also as a seminary for training even to the highest step ; and he made arrangements for securing the maintenance of twelve students permanently. He requested that Mr. Thomson would contribute towards this purpose. He asked him in the meantime only to send to him a supply of school books. Such of the classics as required purgation were not to be had in Scotland in a purified form. Could Mr. Thomson, therefore, find some copies of Terence and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* expurgated. Such would be most acceptable. Rollin had praised a work entitled *Terentius Christianus*. If Mr. Thomson could find a copy, he might be good enough to send it, together with any of Cicero's *Philosophical Works* with good notes. For the

Bishop's own use he would be glad to have Boser-vich's Conic sections.

Bishop Geddes, on visiting Glasgow, found that everything there was proceeding to his satisfaction. The house in which the Catholics met had been leased for another year ; and Mr. Wilson, the landlord, had permitted the partitions to be removed. It was gratifying also to Bishop Hay to learn from his friend that Mr. Menzies had returned from the excursion for the benefit of his health, tolerably restored, and that the seven Portuguese students had arrived on 21st October. He, at the same time, assured the Bishop that whatever money he could command, should, with very few necessary expenses, be applied to the great end which both of them had chiefly at heart. He recommended that Bishop Hay should treat in a friendly manner with Mr. Cameron at Valladolid about taking boys the following year. The new bishops for England, he added, were Mr. Douglas, *cæsareæ in partibus* for London, and Mr. Wm. Gibson, *accaviten* for the North. Again November 11th, Bishop Geddes wrote to his friend. Referring to the state of the country schools, he said that he had lately the satisfaction of setting matters to rights. One evening at supper, meeting a Mr. Kemp, a clerical gentleman officially connected with the management of schools, he proposed to him that the

Catholic children should not be required to learn the assembly catechism in the charity schools. The company at once joined the Bishop in saying that it was a hardship. Mr. Kemp evaded this direct appeal, humourously remarking that he was not endowed with dispensing power. Two other ministers and a lady supported the Bishop's plea. At parting Mr. Kemp took him by the hand and said that in company he felt under some restraint, but that he wished to have some private conversation with the Bishop, and to settle the matter in an amicable manner. It was understood that Mr. Fleming would be removed to some distance from the bræs of Glenlivat.

It was not long till Bishop Geddes had more news to communicate (Nov. 15th). A decree of the French Assembly, dated 28th October, was in favour of the Scotch Colleges in France. Mr. Andrew Stewart had mentioned the Scotch College in Paris to Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Leeds, and had prevailed on them to send a despatch to the British Minister at Paris on the subject. The National Assembly of France founded their decree for leaving the Scotch colleges there as they were, on the ground that they did not belong to the French nation. It was news to Bishop Hay that a project was on foot for the purchase of the papers belonging to the Paris College by the British nation ; and Mr. Pitt, it was said, was

inclined to treat generously. Bishop Hay, writing to Bishop Geddes, suggested that he should let Mr. Andrew Stewart know that the Stewart papers at Grisi (the Scotch College) were not the property of that college, but only a deposit, and that their owners were the Scotch Catholics as a body. The Bishop had heard that the papers left by the Archbishop of Glasgow were to be returned to Glasgow if religion should ever be restored in Scotland. Part of the price to be paid for those papers might perhaps be allotted to the mission. But the Bishop was quite aware of the extreme delicacy of the negotiation ; and he only suggested it as deserving his friend's consideration.

The Bishops of Scotland offered to the Bishop of Rhodéz, their common thanks for the active interest which he had taken in the national colleges. The reply of that Prelate was forwarded from Douai by Mr. Farquarson. It expressed his friendly feelings, and held out good hopes of success.

The memorial regarding the national colleges in France, to which Bishop Geddes obtained signatures among the Catholic gentry, prevailed with the French Assembly ; and the provision to Douai was voted permanent. Archbishop Troy of Dublin, writing to Bishop Geddes, begged of him to present his respects to Bishop Hay, and to assure him of his "unutterable

esteem ;" adding " I have encouraged the re-publication of his Polemical Tracts here. They have rendered signal service to the cause of religion. The second Dublin edition of the *Sincere, Devout, and Pious Christian* is now in my printer's press, and will be speedily published. The *Scripture Doctrine on Miracles* was published last year."

The rapid failure of Rev. Mr. Menzies' health, together with Rev. Mr. Robertson's illness of several weeks' duration, laid on Bishop Geddes an excess of parochial duty ; and to this was added his care of the Portuguese students. He found time, notwithstanding, for correspondence with his friends. Writing to Mr. Thomson, Dec. 18th, he informed him of the consecration of Bishop Caryl (Carroll), for America, at Lulworth Castle, on the Feast of the Assumption ; and also, that Mr. Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* had been well received, 15,000 copies having been sold in a few weeks. Bishop Geddes considered that, notwithstanding the opposition which it met with, this able work was likely to do much good in view of the state of matters which then prevailed.

In the event of the Scotch College at Paris being preserved, a new constitution would be necessary. This was decidedly the opinion of Bishop Hay ; and it caused him no slight anxiety. The Prior of the

Carthusians was deprived of his office, and were the masters who had been under his authority, to be subject to no control ? The Bishop maintained that unless the College were placed under the authority of the Scotch Bishops it would never be of much service to the mission.

Writing to Bishop Geddes, he requested him on the first opportunity to return his most respectful compliments to the Archbishop of Dublin, adding "It is a comfort to think that my small endeavours are doing good anywhere." Copies of the *Sincere Christian* were much wanted in Scotland, and the Bishop thought that 200 might be procured from Dublin at a cheaper rate than they could be printed at in Scotland.

The important mission of Glasgow will now for a few moments engage our attention. The second and third Sundays after Epiphany, Bishop Geddes was there on a pastoral visit. There were twenty-nine communicants. Among the small congregation were observed, with pleasure, five or six soldiers in uniform. Some Protestants of note, and, among others, the Procurator fiscal, wished to be present at Mass. But Bishop Geddes thought it more prudent to ask them not to come, as their presence might excite too much attention. It appeared to him, besides, that they were moved with curiosity. It is more remarkable

that some of the wealthier merchants declared in private company their willingness to contribute towards the maintenance of a Catholic priest in the town. This they proposed in order to show the world that they were not so bigotted in Glasgow as was generally supposed. Mr. Wilson, town clerk and proprietor of the house in which the Catholics assembled, assured the Bishop, one night, in the course of a long conversation, that prejudices against Catholics had subsided within the previous three or four years, more completely than he could have thought, at one time, possible. As regarded the mercantile and manufacturing classes, this was so far a mistake, as their decrease of bigotry must in great measure be ascribed to a cause very different from any advance which they had made in true liberality. Motives of self-interest were at work. The late Dr. Cleland, who was by no means Catholic although he lived on terms of friendship with his kinsman, Bishop Hay, formally testifies that, when in 1791, the great tide of emigration from the North Highlands threatened to drain the country of its hardy mountaineers, Messrs. Geo. McIntosh, David Dale, Robert Dalglish and some others of the capitalist manufacturers, invited the Highlanders to Glasgow ; and, as an inducement to the Catholics amongst them, promised security in the practice of their religious worship. This they

could not have done at a very much earlier period ; and when they did so encourage the Catholic Highlanders, the tide of bigotry among the citizens, generally, must have ceased to flow with its ancient vigour. On occasion of the pastoral visit just referred to, the Tennis Court of Mitchell Street, was first taken on lease, as a temporary chapel. Bishop Hay received with the greatest pleasure, these accounts from Glasgow ; and they gave him cause to hope that God in His mercy would give religion a footing in that city. But he found it very difficult to supply spiritual aid there and in other places.

Bishop Geddes had some difficulty in providing funds for the travelling expenses of students on their way to the foreign colleges. Bishop Hay made him welcome to any money of his, that happened to be available, until a supply should come. He hoped, at the same time, that the dividend of the Bank of Scotland would be considerable. The difficulty of supplying priests for vacant missions gave the Bishop much concern. Bishop Hay was now himself unable to undertake the laborious duties of a mission ; and he thought it best to remain at Scalán which, otherwise, would require the services of an able priest in the vigour of his years. Besides, none could carry out so well as himself the reforms which he had

inaugurated at the Seminary; and he hoped to render it a lasting benefit to the mission.

Bishop Geddes had lately had some friendly conversations with Mr. Kemp, who had promised to exempt Catholic children from learning the catechism of the Presbyterian Assembly, acknowledging that it was not suited for the instruction of young or ignorant persons. Catholic children in the charity schools should be taught only reading, writing and arithmetic, whilst, with regard to religion, it was sufficient that they should be made acquainted with the morality and history of the Scriptures, especially of the Gospels. Mr. Kemp had a plan in view for this purpose, which the Bishop thought not a bad one. It was to draw up a set of proper questions without subjoining the answers, but only indicating the chapters where they could be found, so that the children might look for themselves. In order the better to enable him to carry out his plan, the Bishop gave him Challoner's History of the Old and New Testaments, and Fleury's Catechism. Mr. Kemp promised to avoid everything that was in controversy between Catholics and Protestants. On these conditions being agreed to, the Bishop engaged to do all in his power to cause the charity schools to be frequented by Catholic children. He was confident that Bishop Hay would approve of all that he had done.

Bishop Hay's perusal of Mr. Burke's work on the French Revolution filled his mind with too well-founded alarm. The statesman's dread of the revolutionary contagion spreading to Great Britain caused him to push his conclusions to their utmost limits. It so appeared to the Bishop, to whom many of the facts alleged were altogether new. But, assuming their truth, which it was impossible to doubt, attested as it was by so great an authority as Mr. Burke, the Bishop acknowledged that he was deeply affected by the state of the French nation, and considered its misery as one of the heaviest judgments that, to his knowledge, had ever been inflicted on a people. The condition of France, in general, naturally excited in his mind the keenest anxiety for the safety of the Scotch Colleges there. He dreaded, especially, the kind of instruction which would probably be provided to the universities; and if the civic oath should be imposed on the superiors of colleges, what might not be feared? Might not their refusal to take it be made a pretext for annulling the seminaries and seizing their properties? He communicated to his coadjutor the vain wish that the Scotch property in France were withdrawn from that doomed country.

The study of Dr. Reid's philosophy was more pleasing. The Bishop was attracted to a second

perusal of this author's work on the intellectual powers. He regretted, however, that there should be anything in a work of such distinguished merit that was calculated to lessen the author's claim on the esteem of every intelligent reader. He could wish, therefore, that in a future edition, Dr. Reid would correct the assertion that Malebranche was a Jesuit, which he puts forward with a view to account for Arnauld's opposition to the French philosophers. Malebranche was an Oratorian, and his associates were, in general, united in sentiments with Arnauld's party in their controversy with the Jesuits. A passage on Transubstantiation, in Dr. Reid's work, was another source of vexation to the Bishop. Every well-informed Catholic could not but perceive that the professor wrote without knowledge of the subject. It would not be difficult to show, according to his own principles, that nothing is more consistent with his theory of philosophy than the Catholic doctrine regarding the great mystery. The Bishop desired, also, to have sent to him Dr. Reid's Treatise on the Active Powers. He greatly valued Sir John Dalrymple's historical work, which the author had lately presented to him; and charged the coadjutor to express his warmest thanks for the valuable gift, not failing to say that it gave him real pleasure to find that he still had a place in Sir John's remembrance.

The friendly consideration and sound judgment of Bishop Hay were well shown by an arrangement which he made with Mr. Bagnal, a manufacturer at Glasgow, of Staffordshire pottery. The Bishop held bonds of this manufacturer on account of several sums of money which he had advanced to him. It was agreed that Mr. Bagnal should provide a complete assortment of stone ware for the seminary, and a double set of such things as were most in use ; and that on this being done all his bonds should be returned to him discharged. This was the most easy way in which the bonds could be cancelled ; and the Bishop was anxious to have the matter settled in case of difficulty arising after his death.

It was not sufficient to take measures for preventing Catholic children from being imbued with Presbyterian ideas at schools that were held under the auspices of the Kirk. The time was now come when there could be schools exclusively devoted to the education of Catholic children. The chief difficulty appeared to be that of finding properly qualified masters. The teacher whom Bishop Hay had appointed at Glenlivat failed. An Irish scholar whom Bishop Geddes employed at Edinburgh was alike unfortunate. Both Bishops at last succeeded in finding competent teachers for Edinburgh, Glenlivat and Aberdeen.

CAP. XLIV.

CHURCH OF FRANCE REVOLUTIONIZED—BISHOP HAY ENCOURAGES THE SCHOOLS UNDER CHARGE OF MR. KEMP—MORE THAN USUAL PROGRESS AT GLASGOW—34 CONVERTS—BISHOP GEDDES' EFFORTS TO CONCILIATE PRINCIPAL GORDON—RAPID SALE OF BISHOP HAY'S WORKS AT DUBLIN—REJOICING OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS ON PASSING OF THE RELIEF BILL—OATH UNEXCEPTIONABLE—THE "CATHOLIC COMMITTEE" NULLIFIED—BISHOP HAY AND DR. REID—INFLUENTIAL CONVERSIONS—RELIEF BILL GIVES JOY AT ROME—THE POPE'S SATISFACTION—MEETINGS OF 1791 AT GIBSTON—CESSATION OF PERSECUTION—CHURCHES MULTIPLYING ALL OVER THE COUNTRY—2,000 CATHOLIC HIGHLANDERS EMIGRATE TO CANADA AND PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND—NECESSITY OF SUPPORT FROM CONGREGATIONS—THE SAME BEGUN—MR. JOHN CHISHOLM, COADJUTOR TO BISHOP M'DONALD—THE SCOTCH COLLEGES IN FRANCE—BISHOP GEDDES GOES TO PARIS WITH FULL POWERS—ASSISTED BY THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND THE PAPAL CHARGE D'AFFAIRES—MET FRIENDS IN LONDON—MR. GEORGE CHALMERS PRESENTS HIM WITH A PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARY

—LORD LOUGHBOROUGH—THE KING JAMES' PAPERS
—ECCENTRICITY OF PRINCIPAL GORDON—CASE OF
COLLEGE SUBMITTED TO ARBITERS—DECISION IN
FAVOUR OF THE BISHOPS—THE PRINCIPAL STILL
HOLDS OUT—BISHOP GEDDES OBTAINS POSSESSION
OF THE ORIGINAL DEED OF FOUNDATION—PRIOR
OF THE CARTHUSIANS, CHIEF SUPERIOR OF THE
COLLEGE, FAVOURS BISHOP GEDDES---BISHOP GEDDES
DISTRESSED BY THE SAD STATE OF FRANCE—PRIN-
CIPAL GORDON YIELDS AT LAST, ABANDONS THE
COLLEGE AND GOES TO LONDON.

Bishop Geddes entertained pretty much the same opinion as Bishop Hay in regard to Mr. Burke and the French Revolution. That eminent statesman, he thought, however, was a little too declamatory ; but the substance of his work was very just. In France, the Church even was revolutionized. The Bishops of Autun, Orleans and Sens alone remained steadfast. For the time there was a deplorable schism ; but it was not destined to be of long continuance.

Bishop Hay was so highly pleased with Mr. Kemp's liberal conduct in regard to Catholics attending charity schools under his charge, that he proposed to him that he should establish a school for the poorer population of Glenlivat. Provided that the same promise in regard to the Catholics as was

made at Edinburgh, were adhered to, the Bishop would undertake or encourage the people to send their children to the school, and would himself subscribe something in aid of its funds. He, moreover, invited Mr. Kemp to make Scalan his home when he should visit that part of the country.

Bishop Geddes' pastoral visit of ten days to Glasgow this summer was attended with more than its usual fruit. Conversions were, as yet, but few and far between, even in the missions that were longest established, or were, in their humble way, a continuation of the ancient state of things. There were no fewer than thirty-four converts received on occasion of the visit referred to. Where the congregation was always increasing, there could not fail to be a few baptisms. Only five were ready for baptism since the former visit.

Bishop Hay, acting on the suggestion of his coadjutor, communicated with the Nuncio and the Prior of the Carthusians at Paris, requesting their assistance and protection in behalf of Douai College. In the event of their answer being favourable, he intended to make a like request for the college at Paris. He also despatched a procuration in his own name, and that of his coadjutor, for Principal Gordon, with whom he associated Messrs. Innes and Farquarson, the latter President of Douai College,

and the former Prefect of Studies at Paris. Bishop Geddes, however, not unreasonably feared that the Principal might reject the proposal to give him associates, unless he were first consulted. He, accordingly, with a view to prepare the way for compliance, prayed him to forget the past and act solely for the good of religion in his own country.

It was highly satisfactory to the Bishops to learn, at this time, that the new Irish edition of Bishop Hay's works was selling rapidly at Dublin. There were seven volumes. Two hundred copies of the *Sincere Christian* were on the way to Scotland.

On his return to Scaln in July, Bishop Hay had just heard from London of the general rejoicing among the English Catholics at the passing of their Relief Bill. The oath appeared to him unexceptionable. Even Bishop Douglas made no objection to it. Not without a partial leaning to the side of the English Bishops, their Brother of Scotland could not avoid thinking that Providence had now fairly decided in favour of the Bishops against the "Catholic Committee" and its plans.

Painful feelings were once more aroused in the Bishop's mind as he read Dr. Reid's Treatise on the Active Powers, to find that a man of Reid's abilities and penetration should lose himself so often and so completely in speaking against the Catholic tenets in

a manner which showed that he was writing on what he knew nothing about.

The coadjutor had now to inform Bishop Hay that Principal Gordon refused to act with the associates whom the Bishop had proposed to him. It was consoling, meanwhile, to learn that there were some conversions among the more influential classes. Two ladies of good family, Mrs. Glendonwyn of Parton and Mrs. Goldie were reconciled to the Church.

Mr. Thomson, before the end of the month of July, informed Bishop Hay that the English Relief Bill caused universal rejoicing at Rome. It was held to be of such importance that the Pope expressed his satisfaction to the Cardinals assembled on St. Peter's Day.

Early in the following month of this year (August 1791), the three Scotch Bishops, together with the administrators, held the annual meeting at Gibston, near Huntley. In their letters to Rome they imparted to Propaganda the pleasing information that the pressure of persecution had ceased in Scotland; and that chapels or churches were multiplying all over the country; but that, on the other hand, emigration was thinning the ranks of the Catholics. Two thousand Catholic Highlanders had departed for Canada and St. John's Island. Such emigration, no doubt, favoured the progress of the Catholic religion

in America ; but it was no groundless fear, on the part of the Bishops, that it might prove detrimental to the state of religion at home. The difficulty of maintaining the clergy had long been felt ; and now, accordingly, the Bishop began to induce the people to contribute towards their support. This was a great step ; and it was not without good results. A measure so new to the congregations would require time and much prudence.

Bishop McDonald's request to have a coadjutor having been favourably received, he now suggested that Mr. John Chisholm, a worthy priest in the district of Strathglass, should be appointed to the office. This was Bishop McDonald's last meeting with his brethren. Deafness, always increasing, gave pain to his colleagues ; but he himself bore the infirmity with exemplary patience. The meeting was a very agreeable one. The utmost harmony prevailed ; and Bishop Hay, in consequence, showed himself remarkably cheerful.

In addition to the ordinary business of the annual meeting the Bishops found that it was incumbent on them to give their attention to the state of the national colleges in France. Matters were proceeding in that country in such a way as to give the greatest cause for alarm. It was resolved that Bishop Geddes should repair to France, as represent-

ing the interests of the Scotch mission at Douai and Paris. Bishop Geddes was at first opposed to this arrangement, although it had been urged, early in the year, by Messrs. Farquarson and Innes. He neither liked it, nor thought it practicable. Nevertheless, it was unanimously agreed upon at the meeting; and he consented to go and do his best. The affair of the Paris College was one of great delicacy, owing to the extraordinary part Principal Gordon had acted. Besides, it was not without personal danger for a British subject to appear at Paris in the midst of the agitations of the advancing revolution. The charge laid upon Bishop Geddes by the meeting was that he should receive, in the name of the Scotch Bishops and clergy, from the Prior of the Carthusians the property entrusted to his predecessors by Archbishop Beaton; that he should place the colleges at Paris and Douai on a satisfactory footing; and that, if necessary, he should sell their whole property and transfer its value elsewhere.

A formal commission was prepared for Bishop Geddes at Gibston. It gave him full power to treat with the National Assembly of France and all others whom it concerned regarding the colleges at Douai and Paris, their properties and all other property of the Scotch mission. The document bore the sig-

natures of the two Vicars Apostolic, five administrators and four and twenty of the principal Catholic gentry of Scotland. The Bishop met with much civility when on his way to France. In London he enjoyed the hospitality of his friend, Bishop Douglas. He also met with special kindness on the part of the celebrated antiquary, George Chalmers, author of *Caledonia*. He speaks of Mr. Chalmers as a truly excellent man. He made him a present of a valuable print of Queen Mary. He learned that Lord Loughborough had been the principal agent in passing the Catholic Relief Bill : and another friend, Mr. Stewart, took him by invitation to dine with the Judge. He could not let pass so good an opportunity without expressing the gratitude of the Catholic body to His Lordship. The compliment was well received ; and he was invited to return to dinner next day, and to bring Bishop Douglas with him. They passed a very agreeable evening with Lord and Lady Loughborough alone. The Bishop did not fail to express a hope that something might, ere long, be done for the Scotch Catholics, now that their English friends had obtained so much relief. The King was, at the time, anxious to purchase the King James' papers, which were preserved in the Scotch College at Paris. Mr. Stewart took much interest in the negotiations and persuaded the Bishop to defer his departure for

France till they were completed. Mr. Chalmers undertook to bring them under the notice of Sir Jos. Banks and other trustees of the British Museum. Sir Joseph Banks promised, at Mr. Chalmers' request, to mention to the King, the subject of the Stewart papers, a matter in which the worthy and the learned were all concerned. Mr. Chalmers, in his letter of thanks to Bishop Hay, for forwarding the print of Queen Mary, paid a well deserved tribute to the merits of Bishop Geddes, in the most friendly words : "Alas ! would I could have been more useful and kind to Bishop Geddes whose extraordinary merits entitle him to every possible attention. I would almost go to Paris myself, which, I think, has now few attractions, to ensure the success of his mission." On arriving at Douai, the Bishop found fifteen Scotch students in good health. They were pursuing their education under their own Prefect of Studies, and a professor of humanities, at home, owing to the disturbed state of the place ; but there were fears lest they should be forced to attend the public schools ; and this attempt must be resisted, as all the old professors had been expelled for refusing the constitutional oath.

The Bishop well knew how important it was to avoid an open rupture with Principal Gordon. He, therefore, addressed him in a mild and persuasive

letter, earnestly praying him to agree to the plans of the Bishops and concert matters with them for the good of the college and religion in general. He wrote with firmness ; but was, at the same time, particularly friendly and warning. He recounted their past difference and explained the nature of the commission or procuration, which he had brought with him. He endeavoured, moreover, to show the Principal how groundless were his pretensions to independence, and how expedient and even necessary it was that the Bishops and the Principal should act together. Bishop Hay maintained that the Principal would not hold out long if he were managed with firmness ; or, if he did, he would probably commit himself to some extravagant plan which would damage his cause and promote the object of Bishop Geddes' mission. Conciliation and firmness were alike, lost on a man of Mr. Gordon's impracticable character. He arrogantly rejected Bishop Geddes' advances, insisting on his independence of the Scotch Bishops. A second appeal fared no better. Gordon was highly offended at the commission entrusted to Bishop Geddes, and resented it in a very marked way by giving him to understand that he must not expect to be entertained in the Scotch College at Paris. The Bishop took up his residence in a private house, in which also lodged a member of the National Assembly, which was supposed to give additional security.

On approaching Paris, the Bishop found that there was much ferment and excitement, and that churchmen, especially, were in danger. His first proceeding was to communicate with the Prior of the Carthusians, and that in a friendly way, stating the nature of his errand and the dispute with the Principal as to the interference of the Scotch Bishops, and requesting the Prior to see that justice was done to the interests of religion in Scotland. The Prior was weak and undecided, although a good man ; and he depended for his opinions on such matters, on an Irishman, a Canon of Charteris, who, fortunately, espoused the cause of the Scotch Bishops and carried the Prior along with him. In the next place the Bishop had an interview with the Principal. It was more friendly than his correspondence. He invited the Bishop twice to dinner, and by an express order of the Prior, offered him rooms in the College. But this offer, made in such circumstances, the Bishop thought proper to decline. Mr. Gordon, moreover, agreed to discuss the matter in a friendly way in presence of the Prior. If they could not come to an agreement, the Abbe de Floirac, Vicar-General of Paris, who, at the time, governed the diocese, and the Abbe de Rigaud, Visitor of the Carmelite Nuns, were, in that case, to be requested to arbitrate on the conflicting claims, Bishop Geddes prepared a

summary of his proposals on behalf of the Scotch Bishops. It amounted to this: that the founder's will and the constitution of the College should be inspected; that the property of the College should not be sold, or its value removed elsewhere without the consent and approval of the Scotch Bishops; that, in the event of the Prior ceasing to be Superior of the Scotch College, the election of the Principal and of the Procurator of the College should, for the future, vest in the Scotch Bishops, together with the right to nominate students; and that a deputy of the Bishops should visit the College once a year, and inspect the Procurator's accounts.

Bishop Geddes was much assisted in his negotiations at Paris by the countenance of the British Ambassador, Lord Gower, to whom and to his wife, the Countess of Sutherland, he had letters of introduction. They both showed him great civility. Through the recommendation, also, of Cardinal Zalada, the Roman Secretary of State, the Bishop found a willing and useful assistant in the Abbe Salomon, the Papal Charge d'Affaires. He obtained still more effectual assistance from the cordial co-operation of Mgr. Colbert, Bishop of Rhodéz, than from any other source. This Prelate was connected with Scotland by family ties, and had become familiar with the Scotch College at Paris during a residence

of three years in it. Notwithstanding the obstacles and delays interposed by Mr. Gordon, the conference was held at last, before the arbiters. The deed of foundation and other original documents were produced and read; and the arbiters gave a unanimous decision against the claims of the Principal to independent jurisdiction in the College. Their decision not having the final authority of a judicial sentence, the Principal showed no inclination to yield. He addressed the Bishop of Rhodéz in a long letter, in which he endeavoured to establish the independent position of the College and of himself. The Bishop took great pains to refute his conclusions in a voluminous reply. Mr. Gordon remained proof against reason, trusting to the unwillingness of his opponents to bring him into the courts of law, considering the disorganized state of French society at the time. The College, however, was safe as long as the Prior of the Carthusians remained, for he had undertaken to do nothing in regard to it without the consent of the Bishop of Rhodéz and the approval of the Scotch Bishops. The College, besides, had influential friends on the spot, in the Bishop of Rhodéz and the three Abbés who had acted as arbiters at the conference; they would not fail to keep the Scotch Bishops duly informed of everything that happened. Thus far the mission of Bishop Geddes had proved

successful. But the Prior's tenure of life was very uncertain ; and if he were removed, or if the Principal should regain his influence over him, all might be lost. If the Prior had acted with more vigour, more, probably, would have been gained. Bishop Geddes found an opportunity, and it was not without some value, of seeing and copying the original deed of foundation. From politeness, one evening, the Principal had allowed him to take it to his lodgings. But next morning, repenting of what he considered his rash courtesy, he called to get the deed back again. This mattered not ; the Bishop had copied it over night. More than the Bishop had gained could not have been attempted in the unsettled state of affairs and on the eve of a threatened war with England. He, therefore, set about preparing to return home. He says little in his correspondence of the state of the Revolution. The deplorable condition to which the Church was reduced caused him great distress ; but, at the same time, he was much consoled in witnessing " many examples of constancy in the faith, of patience, of piety and of every Christian virtue."

Principal Gordon, as the French Revolution was hastening to anarchy, guided by the instinct of self-preservation, determined to abandon the Scotch College, leaving it in charge of the college lawyer.

He gave notice to Mr. Innes, the Prefect of Studies to leave it in a fortnight. This, however, Mr. Innes refused to do. The Prior of the Carthusians, on appeal to him, disapproved of Mr. Gordon's act, and appointed Mr. Innes, Procurator. Mr. Gordon protested. But the Prior and Mr. Innes carried the case before the municipality, where they must have gained, if the Principal had not given way and placed the affairs of the College in the hands of Mr. Innes. The intractable Principal Gordon was then at liberty to seek safety in flight. He went to reside in London.

CAP. XLV.

BISHOP HAY, ALTHOUGH PROCURATOR, UNDERTAKES THE WHOLE PAROCHIAL DUTY OF EDINBURGH IN ADDITION TO HIS EPISCOPAL DUTIES—VISITS GLASGOW—MUCH PROGRESS—A COMMITTEE ON TEMPORALS—DEATH OF MR. ROBERT MENZIES—GROWTH OF LIBERALITY—THE PORTUGUESE STUDENTS—STATE OF THE MISSION—AMIALE CHARACTER OF BISHOP GEDDES—MORALS OF EDINBURGH—DEATH OF BISHOP M'DONALD—MUCH LAMENTED—BISHOP JOHN CHISHOLM—ONLY BISHOP HAY AT HIS CONSECRATION—STUDENTS WITHHELD FROM THE MISSION—GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGES EMIGRATION—EMPLOYMENT AT GLASGOW—BANK OF SCOTLAND—BISHOP HAY INTERESTED THEREIN—THE PRIOR OF THE CARTHUSIANS THANKED—ANARCHY ADVANCING IN FRANCE—BISHOP GEDDES AT ST. OMERS ASKED TO ORDAIN—DECLINES BEING A TITULAR BISHOP “IN PART. INF.”—PROPOSED NEW CHURCH AT EDINBURGH—GLASGOW MORE LIBERAL THAN EVER—REV. ALEX. M'DONALD THERE.

During the absence of Bishop Geddes, Bishop Hay filled his place at Edinburgh; and it was, at the

time, no sinecure. The death of the much-regretted Mr. Robert Menzies, who had rendered such signal service to the Highland congregation, and the sickly state of the other priest, laid on the Bishop the whole of the parochial duty. It behooved him, also, to attend to the Procuratorship as well as his more special episcopal functions. The portions of country set apart to Bishop Geddes included Glasgow ; and now, Bishop Hay, in place of his coadjutor, made a pastoral visit to that city. He remained there a week, and found the rising mission in a satisfactory condition. There had, indeed, been great progress. The change for the better that had taken place, within a few years, was truly remarkable. It remained, as yet, to appoint a permanent Incumbent. The Bishop was particularly pleased to find that there was much zeal on the part of the Catholics in contributing towards the support of a priest among them. He, accordingly, held a meeting of the more leading people and laid before them a plan for raising subscriptions. A committee of six was appointed for the management, and he provided them with a proper form of subscription papers.

Before the Bishop's return to Edinburgh, Mr. Menzies had passed away. His death was like his life, most edifying. "His loss," the Bishop wrote to Mr. Gordon, at Aberdeen, "will be severely felt

in this place, as I have not one whom I can put in his place, and who has the language of his numerous congregation, without leaving an equal blank elsewhere, which, in our present circumstances, I cannot think of doing." In the same letter it is shown how liberal Edinburgh had become. "We have just such a plan for the Poor's House as you mention to be in agitation with you. But here our people who are taken in are no wise molested as to their religion, and are allowed to go to the chapel when they please ; and we have free access to them in sickness. As the town of Aberdeen has always been favourable to us in this respect, I hope they will be no less so in the present case ; and, if so, I much approve of what you mention, of some poor's money being applied that way, especially, as you are much better provided for that purpose than any other station I know ; besides, I think it will be a real advantage in the main."

In a letter which Bishop Hay had occasion to write to Mr. Fryer, the Principal of the English College at Lisbon, concerning some Portuguese medical students, a general charge of whom the coadjutor had assumed, in compliance with the request of Her Majesty the Queen of Portugal, he gives, incidentally, a very complete account of the state of the Scotch mission at this time (1791). It was necessary to show, in connection with the charge of the students,

the onerous and engrossing duties of the Vicars Apostolic. The Bishop, accordingly, writes : " We have been, for many years, and particularly at present are, in the greatest distress for the want of hands. I have at present no less than eight vacant stations, some of which are very numerous, very extended and very important. By this means we have often the great affliction to hear of poor souls dying without the sacraments, the children neglected for want of instruction, and not, unfrequently, people apostatizing for the same reason, and the neighbouring missionaries harassed and exhausted with frequent and distant calls. Three years ago, the gentleman (Rev. Andrew Dawson) who had the care of a little seminary I have for preparing boys for being sent abroad, happening to die, I had not another to put in his place, and was obliged to take that charge upon myself ; otherwise I must have shut up its doors. And to this day I have not been able to get one, so that on my coming to this place I was forced to leave it to the care of servants, with the eldest of the boys to teach the younger ones their lessons. In this city we have two chapels both having pretty numerous congregations and only one clergyman to each. Bishop Geddes was obliged to assist the more important of the two, and, last Winter, from the illness of both clergymen, had for a considerable time both

congregations, and for a still longer time, had one of them entirely on his hands. Although this city be his principal residence, yet, he is obliged to be out of it for weeks and often for months together several times in the year. He has to visit, from time to time, our missions in Galloway, Perthshire and Angus-shire, which I had allotted to him, having kept those in the North for my own inspection. He had the management of all the temporal affairs of the mission, and endless correspondence, both at home and abroad, relating to those affairs. He had, in fine, frequently to go to Glasgow to visit a numerous congregation there, who had no other help than from him, and, sometimes, from another living at a much greater distance from them. Such, sir, is, at present, and has been for some time past, our distressed situation, and to complete our distress, since Bishop Geddes left this, one of the two churchmen, here, is dead, which throws one of the two chapels almost entirely upon me."

For the above reasons he was averse to Bishop Geddes burdening himself with the charge of the Portuguese students, and ascribes his doing so to his disposition to do anything that was asked of him when he thought it was for the glory of God. He was also influenced by his esteem and affection for the worthy English Principal, as well as his desire

to forward the views of that benevolent princess, the Queen of Portugal. The Bishop dwells at some length, on the qualities of the accomplished coadjutor: "He has certainly a most amiable temper, disinterested, obliging and condescending, and so cordially sympathizing that I know it is a torment to him to do anything harsh or severe to any mortal. This, his natural disposition, has been greatly confirmed from the example of the amiable St. Francis of Sales, whom he considers as his great model, and from the wonderful success he has had in many difficult cases by the gentle and engaging manner he treated those engaged in them. And it must be owned that this, his turn of mind, has gained him the love, esteem and regard of everyone wherever he has been, and of people of all ranks and stations who have been acquainted with him." It is to be regretted that the excellent Prelate could not give a more favourable account of the moral condition of his native town than what we find in the concluding lines of his letter to Principal Fryer: "I was born and educated in this city; and had applied to the study of medicine in my younger days before I had any knowledge of the Catholic Faith. I know what this place was at that time with regard to morals: and I am persuaded by all accounts I can get that it is, beyond any comparison, worse at present, especially in the medical line; so much so,

that it is my decided opinion that it is next to a miracle if a young man, left in any degree to his own management in this vicious Sodom, and applying to the study of medicine, can ever be able to escape the contagion," This was long ago. The high reputation of the Edinburgh School of Medicine in more recent times would seem to indicate improvement.

In less than a month after the meeting at Gibston, Bishop McDonald departed this life. His health had been failing for some time, but it would appear that death came at last rather suddenly. He was much regretted by his friends and Highland flock. Their veneration for their ancient patriarchal chiefs, no doubt, added to the affection they bore to the deceased Bishop, who was a scion of the well known family of clan Ranald. The choice which he made of a coadjutor had been unanimously approved of by the clergy and laity of the Highland district, so that there was no question as to the fitness of Bishop John Chisholm to be his successor. There could be no other serious opposition than that of Mr. Chisholm himself, who was disinclined to undertake the responsibilities of so great a charge. As soon as the coadjutor crossed the border Bishop Hay was once more the only Bishop in Scotland. It fell to him, therefore, to consecrate the new Bishop, as Titular of Oria and Vicar Apostolic in the Highlands. On

February 12th the solemn rite was performed, two priests assisting, instead of Bishops, by special dispensation. At the suppression of the Jesuits, Mr. Chisholm passed from the novitiate at Tournay to the Scotch Seminary at Douai, where he was ordained priest in 1777. He had laboured happily since that time in his native district of Strathglass. He bore with honour the dignity of the mitre for more than twenty years.

It would appear that Mr. Cameron, the Principal at Valladolid, still withheld his students from the mission. This was a cause of great displeasure and vexation to Bishop Hay. It was all the more so as seven or eight stations had been vacant for several years past in the Lowland district. Now that Bishop Geddes must be absent for a time not so much as one priest could be spared, even for the Seminary. It was necessarily, therefore, placed under the charge of a young man who directed the studies of the rest. The Highland congregation sustained indeed a severe, and at the time, irreparable loss by the death of Mr. Robert Menzies who had laboured so long and so unostentatiously. The Highlanders were entirely lost for want of a priest who could speak their own tongue; and it was for some time impossible to secure such a one for the Lowland district. It would appear that the death of the most worthy Mr. Menzies was has-

tened by pecuniary anxiety. He had taken as a boarder an Irish student of medicine, at the request of the youth's father, and this man unfortunately, never paid any board. The expense and vexation thus caused, together with the liabilities of the good priest for St. Andrew's chapel, preyed upon his mind and brought on ague and jaundice, of which he died.

Bishop Hay, in a letter to the agent at Rome, gives a singularly interesting account of emigration from the Highlands and its results as regarded the destinies of the Glasgow mission. The letter is dated Feb. 18th, 1792. " . . . Accounts have been received from our last Summer emigrants. They went to Nova Scotia, were kindly received, got a year's provisions, and so much land from Government for each family. This encouragement has set others upon following them, and we hear that subscriptions are going on for a new emigration this year. There are many, however, of the poorer sort, who, not being able to pay their passage, are left at home in great misery. Would you believe it? A door is likely to be open for them at Glasgow. Manufacturers there are advancing to such a degree that they cannot get hands to supply. Children of seven years of age may make half a crown or three shillings a week, and others more in proportion. Application has been made to us to supply them

from the Highlands. Our only objection was the want of the exercise of their religion. This they easily saw into; and are actually concerting at present, to obviate that difficulty by providing a chapel, and have begun subscriptions among themselves to execute their plan and provide for a churchman. *Quam mirabilia sunt opera tua Domine!* If this takes place and the emigrations continue for a few years we shall have very few of our people either on the great estates of Clan Ranald or Glengary. *Dominus novit opus suum ab æterno. Fiat voluntas ejus!"*

The mission was interested in the Bank of Scotland, holding a good many shares. It was, therefore, a pleasure to the Bishop to inform his coadjutor that it was in a prosperous condition. He had recently attended a general meeting of the proprietors, at which a plan for doubling the capital was unanimously agreed to, and the bill sent to Mr. Dundas, the governor. He also mentions that, together with Bishop Chisholm and Mr. Robertson, he was at supper, for the first time, with Lord Monboddo, the good friend of Bishop Geddes, to whom he desired to be very kindly remembered. In concluding the letter he begged his coadjutor to thank the Prior of the Carthusians, in his own name and that of Bishop Chisholm, for his steady adherence to the cause of

religion and of the mission, in the late negotiations at Paris. Anarchy in unfortunate France advancing every day and everything that he could have hoped to gain by his mission having been secured, Bishop Geddes left Paris for Douai, on the 20th of April. From thence he sent to the Cardinal of Propaganda a detailed account of all that he had done at Paris. The Cardinal's reply expressed approval of every step and complimented him on his success. After spending some time at Douai, he proceeded on his journey by Bruges and St. Omers. At the latter place they wished him to ordain students of the English Seminary, as the neighbouring Bishops were all absent. He had an impression, however, that titular bishops like himself, *in partibus infidelium*, were prohibited from exercising their pontifical functions beyond their own limits, even with the consent of the Ordinary. This impression Mr. Thomson subsequently confirmed by quoting the Brief that forbids it, a copy of which he sent to Bishop Geddes. War was now fairly begun between France and Austria. The day before the Bishop wrote, 10,000 men were marched from Lille to surprise Tournai. The Austrians repulsed them with great loss.

Bishop Hay, desiring to avail himself of the opportunity which his friend's journey afforded, proposed that, on his way home through England, he

should recommend to their friends there, a scheme for a new church at Edinburgh. It was also still strongly urged, as formerly, by some members of the congregation. "Who knows," said the Bishop, "where a blessing may alight?" The proposed new building was intended to replace St. Margaret's only, St. Andrew's, on the east side of Blackfriar's Wynd, being still retained for the Highland congregation with services, as usual, in the Gaelic language. At the time of Bishop Geddes' return to Scotland, six leading citizens of Glasgow gave Bishop Chisholm a bond for £30 a year, to Mr. Alexander McDonell, together with a free house and all that was necessary for the chapel. It gave great delight to the Catholic people of Glasgow that they were to have a resident priest; and the gentlemen who were chiefly instrumental in carrying out the arrangement, were much pleased with Mr. McDonell. This priest, afterwards so renowned in connection with Canada, had laboured hitherto in the district of Badenoch and at Fort William. The results of the liberal arrangement were highly satisfactory. It was no sooner heard of in the Highlands than twenty-four families, in all one hundred and thirty-one individuals, came to Glasgow in one day, and numbers were preparing to follow them.

Bishop Hay was anxious that his colleague of the Highlands should spare a Gaelic speaking priest for Edinburgh. In the meantime Mr. A. McDonald was transferred from Drummond to St. Andrew's, Edinburgh.

CAP. XLVI.

BISHOP GEDDES PREPARES A CHINESE GRAMMAR—MANUFACTURERS OF GLASGOW PROPOSE SUBSCRIBING FOR THE ERECTION OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH—THE PENAL LAWS A HINDRANCE—THEIR ODIOSNESS EXPOSED—CASE OF MUNSHES—THE MAGISTRATES OF DUNDEE FAVOUR A RELIEF BILL—PROPOSAL THAT THE FOUR CHIEF TOWNS SUPPORT THE SAME—BISHOP HAY WISHES TO ENLIST IN THE CAUSE BISHOP GEDDES' POWERFUL FRIENDS—MOTION LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT—RELIEF BILL PASSED BOTH HOUSES—RECEIVED THE ROYAL SANCTION ON 3RD JUNE, 1792—NO DIRECT OPPOSITION TO THE BILL IN PARLIAMENT---A COL. M'LEOD AND LORD GEO. GORDON HOSTILE—OPPOSITION DISCOURAGED BY THE PRESS AND BY THE KIRK ASSEMBLY—THE MODERATOR THOUGHT IT NOT SUFFICIENTLY FAVOURABLE TO CATHOLICS—STATESMEN HIGHLY PLEASED—THE SUCCESSION—ANNUAL MEETING OF 1792—THANKS TO THE BISHOP OF RHODEZ—THE BISHOPS EXPRESS THEIR SYMPATHY WITH HIM IN VIEW OF THE SAD STATE OF HIS COUNTRY—REGRET FOR THE DEATH OF BISHOP M'DONALD—MRS. GOLDIE AND HER CHILDREN'S TUTORS—INTERESTING THE

NUNCIO AT LIEGE IN FAVOUR OF THE MISSION—
MUCH GOOD EXPECTED FROM BISHOP GEDDES' MIS-
SION TO PARIS—GLASGOW MANUFACTURERS PAY
THE RENT OF A LARGE HALL FOR CATHOLIC WOR-
SHIP—IMPORTANT OPENING OF THE SAME—MR.
ALEX. M'DONELL, AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF KINGS-
TON, OFFICIATING—BISHOP HAY'S OPINION OF HIM
—MAGISTRATES AND CHIEF MERCHANTS FAVOUR-
ABLE.

When Bishop Geddes reached London, on his way home, he must remain there some time in order to see friends and prepare a Chinese grammar for presentation to Mr. Dundas. In a few days it was complete; and the Bishop had a preface ready. Before it was presented Sir George Staunton, Secretary to the Embassy intended for Peking, called in company with two missionaries from the Chinese College at Naples. In course of conversation he expressed his regret that there was no grammar of the Chinese language. The Bishop showed him the one he had prepared. He took it with him and promised to present it to Mr. Dundas.

Bishop Hay was desirous that the coadjutor before leaving London should see Mr. Dundas regarding the mission affairs of Glasgow. Some of the principal manufacturers were willing to raise a subscription towards building a church for the

Catholic people. The penal laws, however, although dormant, were still on the Statute book; and ill-disposed persons might take advantage of them to accuse those worthy gentlemen of infringing the law. Several Protestants were inclined, but for those laws, to aid in the erection of the proposed church. There occurred, meanwhile, a circumstance which proved more powerful than all the diplomacy and eloquence of Bishop Geddes. It exposed before a more enlightened public the odiousness of the penal laws. The next Protestant heir to Mr. Maxwell of Munshes, had taken measures for possessing himself of Mr. Maxwell's Annandale estate, and would, no doubt, have made good his claim but for the agitation which his proceeding occasioned among the Catholics and their friends. Bishop Hay remarked on this outrage: "It will make a curious appearance in the eyes of the world if, whilst Catholics are getting every indulgence they can reasonably desire throughout the whole British Dominions, Munshes should be deprived of such an estate merely because he is a Catholic. However, God Almighty has His own ends in view; we must refer all to His Divine Providence, who knows how to bring good out of evil. I hope Munshes' affair in the hands of Providence will produce some good. Fiat! Fiat!" The magistrates of Dundee had lately made an offer to

Mr. Pepper, the priest in charge there, to petition Government for the extension of the English Relief Bill to Scotland. This proposal, viewed in connection with the friendly action of the citizens of Glasgow, suggested to the Bishop a plan for obtaining the much desired relief. It was that the four leading towns in Scotland, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee should make a united effort in support of the good purpose. "Who knows," added the Bishop, "but Providence intends that those very places, which were lately very much against us, should be the means of befriending us? A bold stroke may be made, and sometimes succeeds best." The agent for the Crown in Edinburgh suggested to Bishop Geddes that when the Irish Relief Bill should pass, the Catholics of Scotland would do very well to bring their claims under the notice of Parliament. There was some difference of opinion as to the extent of what should be asked for. Bishop Hay inclined for a general repeal of disabilities rather than of those only which affected the power of Catholics to hold property. His views were expressed at some length in a letter to the coadjutor. He considered the time exceedingly favourable, and continuing said : "If Mr. Constable gets any motion made for securing our property would it not be proper for you to write to Lord Gower before it come in, to see if he could get

any of his friends to move for the extension of the English Bill to Scotland? Could you not suggest it, also, to Mr. Secretary Dundas? * * * The general run of the country is in our favour, and I do not think that your using your influence with your great friends could do any harm. If matters were carried through at once there could not be the least danger; but if property alone were sought and obtained they might raise a splutter (if they were inclined to make one) to prevent our getting more, of which property would be considered as a prelude. This was the rock our friend split upon when the first application was made. Had Scotland been included in the first Bill there would have probably been no disturbance. And, from the experience of what happened then, I am fully persuaded that it would be much easier to get the whole at once, just now, than to get a part now and the rest hereafter. Might you not, at least suggest these reflections to Mr. Constable, as well as to your other friends?" * *

In a second letter on the subject, the Bishop earnestly urged on his coadjutor the propriety of communicating with his powerful friends, and expressed anew his conviction that the most complete relief should be asked for. He addressed, moreover, a circular letter to the Catholic proprietors, inviting their co-operation with Munshes, and proposing, as the most

expeditious and economical plan, the simple extension of the English Bills of Relief to Scotland. "We cannot expect, nor would I desire more; and if we got it, it would make us very easy." Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, was associated with Munshes and Mr. Constable in bringing the matter before Parliament. The Lord Advocate, on April 22nd, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to relieve the Scotch Roman Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by former Acts of the Scotch Parliament, and especially in the eighth and ninth sessions of the first Parliament of King William. The preamble of the Bill asserted that former acts of repression had been deemed expedient as chiefly directed against persons who acknowledged, or were supposed to acknowledge, the temporal superiority or power of the Pope over Scotland; an opinion contrary to the allegiance of the subjects of that kingdom. The preamble to the new Bill further declared that the *formula* hitherto imposed on the Roman Catholics of Scotland amounted only to a renunciation of speculative and dogmatic opinions. It was, therefore, enacted that, from this date, the Scotch Roman Catholics who should take and subscribe the oath of abjuration and the declaration annexed to the Bill should be exempted from all the pains, penalties and disabilities

imposed, enacted, revived, ratified and confirmed by the said Act of the eighth and ninth sessions of the first Parliament of King William III, as fully and effectually as if such persons had actually made the renunciation of Popery thereby ordained, according to the formula thereunto subjoined. A certain amount of legal shuffling and quibbling was but a small price to pay for so important a measure of justice to the Catholics of Scotland. The formula was declared to have been aimed at persons who held political doctrines inconsistent with the duties of good British subjects. Yet the formula was also declared to comprehend only religious opinions, and to be, therefore, imperative as regarded political opinions. For which reason the new Act of Relief proposed to substitute a more efficient check to political heresy, under cover of which the offensive formula was set aside as inefficient; and thus a measure of religious liberty was secured for the Roman Catholics in Scotland. The Bill was read a first time, April 25th, and its provisions were even more favourable than the Catholics themselves had hoped for. The Oath subjoined was the same as that prescribed by the last English Relief Act, and was one against which no scruple could exist. By taking it a Catholic was fully enabled to acquire, possess and dispose of his real and personal estate

in Scotland, as any other subject could. An exception, however, was retained which forbade any Catholic, even after taking the Oath, from discharging the office of a governor, pedagogue, teacher, tutor or curator, chamberlain or factor, to any child or children of Protestant parents ; neither could he be employed in their education or in the trust and management of their affairs. The Bill prohibited a Catholic from being a schoolmaster, professor or public teacher of any science in Scotland. Notwithstanding these drawbacks the Bill was thankfully received by the Catholic body ; Bishop Hay's only disparaging remark being that the exception about teaching was rather inconvenient. The Bill passed the Upper House on May 24th, and received the Royal Assent on June 3rd. Bishop Geddes, in communicating this good news to Bishop Hay, sincerely congratulated him upon it, and expressed his hope that the Bishop might live many years to see the good effects resulting from this favour of Providence. He writes also some very interesting particulars illustrative of the history of the Bill : "The first sketch of the Bill which was concerted in Scotland would have excluded converts from all benefit of the Act, and had a clause declaring illegal all donations to religious societies. But these odious parts were cut out by the present and late chancellors.

There was not the least direct opposition made to us in either House of Parliament ; but, it is suspected that Colonel McLeod and the Duke of Norfolk, by proposing to give up more privileges, intended to create delays, and even, perhaps, to raise discontent in Scotland. It seems Lord George Gordon also bestirred himself ; but there has scarcely been a murmur that I have heard, which, I believe, owing greatly to the quiet manner in which the affair has been gone about and the very obliging disposition of the publishers of our newspapers who unanimously agreed to reject every inflammatory composition that was offered them for publication. There was no mention made of us in the general Assembly. Its Moderator, Dr. Hardie, had seen the Bill at London and had said that it was not favourable enough to us. The Lord Advocate has behaved extremely well ; and, last week when I thanked him, he seemed happy at what he had done, and assured me the exceptions had been left merely for peace's sake but that they will never be minded. We meet with many congratulations ; but none seems to be more glad at this event than your friends, Mr. Arbuthnot and Andrew Stewart (Protestants.) Mr. Maxwell, of Munshes, is returned home in very good spirits, and has brought another emigrant priest along with him. He and Mr. Constable have paid the expenses in the first instance

and will not, I believe, be very rigorous in exacting repayment; but Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, from whom I heard yesterday from Tunbridge Wells, is strongly of opinion that all proprietors should contribute proportionally, and has written to that purpose to Kirkconnell.

You will, I am persuaded, think his proposal reasonable; and the sum is, I believe, very moderate. Lord Kelly was the mover in the House of Lords, and expressed great satisfaction in having been so, when he lately dined with Mr. Arbuthnot, where Mr. McPherson also was. With regard to the Act itself it almost puts an end to the penal laws against us, as the exceptions are so few and trifling, and purposely there is no penalty annexed to them. Besides the English Catholics have it in contemplation to apply soon for being put entirely on the same footing with other subjects; and when that happens we may now reasonably hope to be included with them."

The clause in the Oath regarding the Protestant succession appeared at one time to Bishop Geddes to be objectionable. On further consideration, however, his view changed. That succession was confirmed by law, ingrafted in the Constitution. More, it was necessary, he considered, for the national tranquility. He submitted to it, therefore, and could safely promise to maintain it as long as it should continue to be

the law of the land and part and parcel of the Constitution. "Every prudent person amongst us," he writes, "will see how proper it is for us not to appear elevated on this occasion, so as to give any offence to Protestants, and this behaviour, you (Bishop Hay) will, no doubt, recommend."

The Bishops held their annual meeting in July this year, 1792, at Scalan. Their usual letters to Rome were then prepared; and in addition they despatched a joint letter to the Prior of the Carthusians and the arbiters in the recent conference at Paris, cordially thanking them for their services. To the excellent Bishop of Rhodéz, also they expressed their gratitude for the interest which he had kindly taken in the Scotch College, and the laborious services which he had rendered to it, particularly by his communication to the Principal. They requested that he would still obligingly continue to watch over the affairs of the College. They concluded by expressing very feelingly their sympathy with him in the distressed condition of his country, confidently hoping that in the ways of Providence a vineyard once so flourishing would be restored to its former splendour, and their highly valued friend, the Bishop, to the undisturbed charge of his beloved flock.

In their letter to Cardinal Antonelli and Propaganda the Bishops intimated the recent death of their

colleague of the Highland district, Bishop Alexander Macdonald, describing him as "a pious and devoted prelate," and a descendant of the ancient family of Clan Ranald. They also mentioned, and with honour, Mrs. Goldie, a convert, who, rather than allow her children to be brought up as Protestants, put to sea in most unfavourable weather, together with her son of seven and her daughter of eleven years of age ; and without previously giving notice to her friends, sought a home in the convent of English Nuns at Rouen, confining herself to the care of God's Providence. It is so far to the credit of the children's tutors that they did not proceed to extreme measures, but supplied the family with money.

In compliance with the request of the Nuncio at Liege, Bishop Hay wrote to him some details of the state of the mission, not forgetting to suggest that it would be acceptable and meritorious on the part of His Excellency to interest himself in its favour. The Bishops before separating, expressed their satisfaction with the results of Bishop Geddes' mission to Paris. They hoped to derive from it much permanent good whatever might be the state of public affairs in France.

Meanwhile, it gave them pleasure to hear of Mr. Alex. McDonell's success at Glasgow, A very large hall was hired there from the Duke of Hamil-

ton and the Lord Provost, for the purpose, as was well known, of a Catholic chapel. The principal manufacturers placed seats in it for 300 persons, and became security for the rent, £40. The town clerk showed his friendship, as did also the Board of Trade and a society for preventing emigration. Acting thus liberally, they could have had no surer means of securing sober and industrious men for their employment. The opening of the chapel on 21st October, made an epoch in the history of the Glasgow mission. The congregation that assembled on the occasion amounted to over two hundred. Mr. McDonell officiated in the new chapel for the first time. This was welcome news to Bishop Hay; and yet his remembrance of former things caused him to have some misgiving. Mr. McDonell's hopes were raised so high and his ambition so much excited that the cautious Bishop could not help being "much afraid that he had a little touch of the common turn (*per-fervidum ingenium scotorum*, probably,) too prevalent amongst us." This, however, was but the passing thought of the moment; for, a few days later, he bore high testimony to the fine qualities of the Glasgow missionary. "Mr. McDonell," he writes to Bishop Geddes, Dec. 17th, "is of a forward and intrepid disposition; but I have often seen that when Providence has a mind to bring about any event He

qualifies the instrument He makes use of for that purpose ; and very often a certain degree of boldness produces much better effects than too much timidity. I trust in God that will be the case with our friend there." So far the Glasgow mission was prosperous and promising. The magistrates and principal merchants were highly favourable ; and, moreover, the associations that were arising and causing alarm to the Government, held "liberty to the Papists," as part and parcel of their reform.

CAP. XLVII.

PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND—

OFFENDERS IMPRISONED—TREE OF LIBERTY AT DUNDEE—RIOTING—DRAGOONS REQUIRED TO RESTORE ORDER—DECLINING HEALTH OF BISHOP GEDDES—BAD PRINCIPLES OF THE TIMES DISCUSSED—STATESMEN FRIENDLY TO CATHOLICS—PRINCE ERNEST AUGUSTUS AT PROPAGANDA—ENGLISH IN FAVOUR AT ROME—AN AMBASSADOR FROM ROME TO LONDON—REV. PAUL MACPHERSON, AGENT AT ROME, ON THE DEATH OF MR. THOMSON—END OF DOUAI COLLEGE—BISHOP GEDDES AT SCALAN—IMPORTANCE OF MISSION HISTORY—ALEXANDER PATERSON AT GLENLIVAT—BISHOP HAY PROCURATOR AT EDINBURGH—THE BISHOP OF THE HIGHLANDS ILL—ONLY TWO BISHOPS AT ANNUAL MEETING—THEY INFORM ROME OF RELIEF BILL, AND SUBSCRIBE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE—WONDERFUL CHANGE OF PUBLIC FEELING ASCRIBED TO BISHOP GEDDES.

The principles of French politics were spreading at this time in Scotland. In France what they called a constitutional government was exercising despotism over public opinion. Associations or clubs for the

diffusion of revolutionary opinions began to make themselves be felt at Edinburgh. In November, they published certain resolutions. To their just demands for Government reform they, with the want of tact and prudence incident to nearly every popular movement, united in an absurd protest against one man's having the right to the obedience of another, together with other revolutionary tenets of the French school. It was said that two-thirds of the citizens of the capital favoured those opinions. Two papers were published weekly as their organs. The streets echoed at night with cries of "No King! No aristocrats!" Some of the more audacious partizans attempted to fraternize with the soldiers in the castle, treating them to drink and promising every man among them 1s. 6d. a day, if he would join the clubs. Information of these reckless proceedings led to the apprehension and imprisonment of the offenders in the tolbooth or jail of Edinburgh, a prison which the great novelist has since immortalized under its romantic name of "The Heart of Mid Lothian." On the same day the tree of liberty was planted at the market cross of Dundee. A gentleman of effervescent loyalty, who pulled it down, had his windows broken and his manufactory entirely demolished. The magistrates were driven from the town, and the assistance of the dragoons was

necessary to restore order. It is not a little noticeable that the injustice suffered by the British Catholics was put prominently forward by all these revolutionary clubs as a grievous wrong, calling for sympathy and redress. As in man's constitution, so in that of a nation, a weak point is certainly detected in a crisis of general infirmity.

To the great regret of the Catholic people the health of Bishop Geddes was now declining rapidly. His toilsome journey to Orkney had injured him, and the fatigue incident to his negotiations at Paris gave a second shock to his constitution. Rheumatism now seized on his limbs, and he could neither walk nor travel on horseback. The most eminent physicians of the time, Doctors Gregory and Spens, were consulted. They prescribed, among other things, rest; and he retired to Leith, which was not then the busy seaport it has since become. He could only write with difficulty and slowly. For the most part he employed an amanuensis; and the Rev. Paul McPherson, before his appointment to the Roman agency, generally performed this office. Neither rest nor medicine appeared to do any good; and a form of paralysis began to be felt. His illness caused great concern to Bishop Hay; and he often and feelingly expressed it.

The Bishops conceived the idea of publishing a pastoral letter on the subject of the seditious spirit that was showing itself in the country ; and, indeed, not unadvisedly. Lord Adam Gordon, the commander in chief, had requested Bishop Geddes to speak on the subject to his people in church. The proposal gave rise to some discussion. There was even doubt in the Bishop's mind whether the pastoral should be published at all. The Lord Advocate and the agent for the Crown were consulted. These gentlemen appeared to fear lest its publication might be attended with some danger, and might excite ill-will against Catholics, in the agitated state of the public mind. Bishop Geddes, to whom Bishop Hay left the decision of the matter, thought himself that such a result was not improbable ; and, therefore, the publication of the pastoral was abandoned. The proposal to issue a pastoral letter in the cause of order, together with the discussions and consultations to which it led, failed not to increase the favour with which the Bishops were looked upon by the men in power.

A circumstance may here be mentioned which shows how popular the British were at Rome. Mr. Peter McLachlan, a Scotch student at Rome, wrote to Bishop Hay under date of 14th January, 1798, that Prince Ernest Augustus, the King's son, had

been in Rome about two months and intended to stay till the end of April. He came one day to the Academy of Languages at Propaganda, where he was treated with as much respect and distinction as they could have shown to the Pope himself, the hall being most superbly hung with rich tapestry and a throne erected for him in the middle. On leaving Propaganda he received a popular ovation. As soon as he was recognized the people flocked around him and began to cry out "*Viva il Re e la famiglia Reale d'Inghilterra! Viva l'Inghilterra! Viva il Papa ed Inghilterra!*" and could by no means, be prevailed on to depart until they had kissed his hand, as was the custom in Italy. Such was the reputation England had gained by reason of the decent and becoming behaviour of the English who resorted to Rome in vast numbers.

Mr. Thomson, the agent of the mission at Rome, having died, it became necessary to appoint a successor. It was difficult to part with any of the priests, who were so few in number; and yet so much depended on the Roman Agency, that some one must be spared. The business of the mission must be attended to, and particularly that which regarded the Scotch College. Mr. Smelt, the agent of the English clergy, was requested to act in the meantime. And now came a rumour that a representative

of the Holy See was on his way to London in order to solicit the aid of England against the French. Bishop Hay, on hearing this news, expressed not his surprise, but rather that he was not surprised. "An ambassador of any kind from Hillton (the city of the seven hills) to London is, indeed, an extraordinary phenomenon ! But how can we be surprised at any thing in this age of wonders !" Surprised or not surprised, the Bishop was resolved to avail himself of the circumstance for a good purpose. If the mission from Rome succeeded Mr. Henry Dundass, the friend of the Bishops, would, perhaps, request of the Holy Father as a favour to his British allies, the appointment of a national president to the Scotch College. Strong reasons might be urged in support of the minister's interference.

After some consultation with Bishop Chisholm, the Rev. Paul Macpherson was appointed to the Roman agency. There was only one objection, his great usefulness as Procurator of the mission. He was himself much inclined to the appointment. He had for some time considered that it would be his greatest happiness to live at Rome. He now had his wish ; and it came in a way that could not but be pleasing to him.

The Scotch College at Douai, as had been feared for some time, had now reached the "beginning of

the end." It was narrowly watched and the public seals placed on its property. It was left to Mr. Farquarson, who possessed the full confidence of the Bishops, to do the best that could be done in the circumstances. His chief care was to send home the students ; and it was arranged that they should travel under the charge of Mr. Alexander Paterson. It was appointed that some of them should study at Valladolid and others at home. One of them, Mr. Andrew Scott, who had just commenced the study of divinity, was assigned as a companion to Mr. Andrew Carruthers at Scalan. The students reached London in safety. Thence they took ship for Berwick, and were at Edinburgh by the middle of April. The names of some of the students for the Lowlands will be long remembered in that country. They are Andrew Scott, afterwards Bishop, William McDonald, William Wallace, James Paterson, William Smith, and Alexander Badenoch.

The time was now come when the increasing illness of Bishop Geddes required that he should have complete exemption from care and labour. This he could not enjoy at Edinburgh. Retiring to Leith was only like taking an airing next door. His cares, if not all the fatigue of duty, followed him. It was finally resolved, after much deliberation, that he should reside at Scalan, Bishop Hay taking his

place at Edinburgh. His presence at the Seminary would be useful without requiring any exertion on his part. Mr. Andrew Carruthers being charged with the harder duties. He would not, however, be altogether idle, as he hoped, with the aid of an amanuensis, to do something towards forwarding his proposed work, the History of the Scotch Missions, which he had long had much at heart. The importance of such a history was becoming greater every day and at no time was it more important than at that in which he lived. The perfect quiet of Scalan and its pure mountain air must have been highly favourable to the invalid. But his illness was beyond remedy. So thought Bishop Hay, an excellent judge. The Bishop knew to whom he was writing, when he said, in a letter to the patient: "With regard to my opinion about your health, I always considered your case to be of the paralytical kind, at least since the full accounts you gave me of it, I think at our last Gibston meeting, and I honestly own to you, my most dear sir, with that candour which I owe to you as a real friend, that I have no great expectations of a thorough recovery, at least of a speedy one, whatever, the doctors may say. I have known people even of a considerable age, who, after a sudden and even severe fit of palsy, have recovered beyond expectation, but when it be-

gins, in a manner insensibly, as yours did, and advances almost by imperceptible degrees, to the length yours has come, I own I see little ground to expect what we so earnestly wish for."

Bishop Geddes, with the hope of seeing something done towards preparing a history of the Scotch mission, proposed to carry with him to Scalán, a collection of old letters that were in his possession, out of which he would extract at his leisure, whatever information they might contain relating to the mission. The more he gave his attention to this subject the more important it appeared to him. A knowledge of mission history, he was confident, would have prevented many disputes. Bishop Hay had no objection to this study, except on account of its demand on his strength, the little application it required being beyond his powers and contrary to what his physicians advised.

Having appointed Mr. Paterson, "a very sensible and well principled young man," (and afterwards so good a Bishop), to the mission of Glenlivet, Bishop Hay, on the 8th of June, 1793, bade adieu once more to his favourite retreat at Scalán. He named Mr. James Sharp as his assistant in the mission duty of Edinburgh. He himself undertook to fill the office of Procurator at least for a year.

The Bishop of the Highland district being detained at home by illness, the two Bishops of the Lowlands only attended the annual meeting. In their usual letter to Rome they had the satisfaction to inform Cardinal Antonelli and Propaganda of the repeal of the penal laws. They also communicated directly this acceptable intelligence to the Holy Father, and besought him at the same time to use his authority in reforming the condition of the Scotch College at Rome. The first important act of Bishop Hay at Edinburgh on his return from Scalan and the last of his invalid coadjutor, was to take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance required by the recent Relief Bill. Both Bishops appeared before the Sheriff substitute of Midlothian, swore and subscribed as required.

The invaluable work of Bishop Geddes at the capital was now at an end. His amiability and various accomplishments, his distinguished literary merit and eminent virtue had won for him many friends in every religious denomination. He beheld in his time that extraordinary revolution in public feeling which resulted in the unanimous passing of the Relief Bill ; and this revolution was due in great measure to his personal influence. Men of the highest reputation, lawyers, judges, men of letters, learned to respect his religion in respecting

the man who professed it, and in whom they recognized their equal in intellectual power and acquirement, whilst they found him genial as he was gifted. The mind of Bishop Hay, though possibly more vigourous and profound, was not so versatile ; and he was certainly not adapted, although possessed of many accomplishments, to shine in general society. People revered him, nevertheless ; but they loved the coadjutor. Catholics, both clergy and laity, were irresistibly under the influence of like feelings. How sorrowful, then, must not have been the parting with such a Bishop, and for such a cause !

CAP. XLVIII.

BENEFIT OF RELIEF—BISHOP HAY AT EDINBURGH—
SICK SOLDIERS DESIRING TO BE CATHOLICS—THE
DUKE OF GORDON AT SCALAN—A BRITISH FLEET
DEFENDS THE ROMAN COURT—DESIRE FOR A
NATIONAL RECTOR—MR. MACPHERSON SPECIALLY
RECOMMENDED TO THE CARDINAL, DUKE OF
YORK—PAOLI—BRITISH EXPECTED ON ROMAN
COAST—THE STUDENTS FROM DOUAI—THE SCOTCH
CATHOLICS FAVOURED IN ENGLAND—THE “LAND
OF CAKES”—GEORGE CHALMERS—MR. ALEX. PATER-
SON ACCOUNTS FOR DISCONTENT IN SCOTLAND—
MR. JAMES PATERSON—FIFTEEN THOUSAND EMI-
GRANTS—FRENCH CLERGY IN LONDON—GREATEST
RESPECT SHOWN THEM—THE CONTRARY AT BRUGES
—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT GIVES FREE PASSAGE
TO EXILED CLERGY TO ENGLAND—SAILORS EXPRESS
THEIR SYMPATHY—REVOLUTIONARY EMISSARIES
PROMOTE HATRED OF THE BRITISH—BISHOP HAY
ON THE DIFFICULTY AT SCALAN—EXTRAORDINARY
IGNORANCE AT THE TWO SCOTCH MONASTERIES IN
BAVARIA—DESIRE TO HAVE THEM CONVERTED INTO
COLLEGES.—

The Bishops now issued a pastoral letter acknow-
ledging the eminent services of our public men and

the better feeling of the people in passing the Relief Bill. Referring to the repealed laws as they once stood against Catholics, it observed: "Those times, blessed be God! are now no more. Our humane and generous legislators, after being fully satisfied as to the innocence of our tenets, the purity of our moral doctrine, our attachment to the Government, and our love to the happy constitution of our country, have, with the greatest unanimity and approbation of both houses of Parliament, repealed the penal laws that stood against us and extended to us, the Catholics of this country, the favour lately granted to those of England and Ireland, by which we may now enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of our holy religion." The faithful were then called upon to return thanks to Almighty God for His recent goodness to them. To Him they owed the humane disposition of their rulers; to Him the acquiescence of the whole nation in what their rulers had done for them. To gratitude they were bound to join a sincere repentance for their own sins and the sins of their forefathers which had provoked the Divine anger against them. As to their earthly rulers Catholics were bound to pray for them, and to show, on all occasions, a high respect for, and a strict obedience to the laws, as faithful subjects of His Majesty, as good citizens and worthy members of

society. The Bishops, in conclusion, besought the Catholic body to use their recovered liberty with prudence and moderation, so as by their quiet and peaceable demeanour, to convince the world that they were not unworthy of the favour lately bestowed on them. The pastoral letter presented an admirable model of temperate and chastened expression. It was dated July 12th, 1793.

Bishop Hay now resumed the duty of the principal charge of the congregation at Edinburgh, with Mr. James Sharp for his assistant. He went to reside in the house underneath St. Margaret's chapel, where his name, Mr. Hay, in faded paint, might have been seen, not long ago, and may still, perhaps, be seen, on the strong outer door of the house, opening on the third floor of the common stair. Mr. James Sharp, when on his way to Scotland, found Mr. Oliver at Ostend, on a mission of charity to some sick soldiers of the 27th Regiment. Some of them desired to become Catholics. "*Spiritus ubi vult spirat.*"

Bishop Geddes on arriving at Scalan found the community there in good health, and under the temporary charge of Mr. Andrew Carruthers. The Duke of Gordon had paid a visit to the Seminary the week before, and had expressed himself satisfied with the condition of the place. Bishop

Geddes availed himself of the Duke's visit to say that he hoped His Grace would give them a long lease, as a good deal of money had been laid out on the establishment. The Duke replied that they should not differ. The Douai students, recently placed in the Seminary were discontented, and gave trouble. They complained of the beds, of the food, of the untidiness of their companions, etc.

As has been seen, the Court of Rome had expressed a desire for the protection of the British Government against the French. The request was now renewed through Bishop Douglas, as the states of the Church were seriously threatened by France. In compliance with the application presented by Bishop Douglas, Lord Hood's fleet was sent to defend the Roman Court. It appeared to be a favourable opportunity for insisting on having national superiors in charge of the British Colleges. Bishop Douglas, if necessary, would induce Lord Grenville to support the measure.

The Rev. Paul McPherson was now taking leave of his friends and preparing for his journey to Rome. Bishop Hay provided him with letters of introduction to numerous influential parties in the Holy City. He addressed, in his favour, with special recommendations, Cardinals Antonelli, Albani, Caraffa, Trajetto and Borgia, who was recently created a cardinal. The Bishop, still more particularly, solicited for the

agent the good will of the Cardinal, Duke of York. In his letter of introduction, he reminded the Cardinal of their friendly relations in 1782, when His Eminence expressed the desire that the Bishop should write to him when the affairs of the mission required it, *tanquam Episcopus ad Episcopum*. It was this expression of the Cardinal's goodness which encouraged him to recommend Mr. McPherson, in a special manner, to his protection. The Bishop, moreover, prayed His Eminence to obtain for him from the Dataria, the pension enjoyed by the last two agents.

In July the Romans were anxiously looking for the arrival on their coast of the British Fleet. Spanish ships of war were cruising in considerable force, between Genoa and Corsica, in order to prevent the landing of French troops on the Island. General Paoli was in the field at the head of a considerable force. He had declared his independence, and was only waiting, it was understood, for the arrival of the British fleet to make himself master of the whole Island.

The students who had come from Douai were now an occasion of some difficulty. They could not remain at Scalan. After some discussion it was decided that they should be sent to prosecute their studies at Valladolid with the exception of two, Alexander Badenoch, who retired to his family until

his health should be confirmed, and Andrew Scott, for whom, as he was truly pious and could be depended on, it was appointed that he should stay with Bishop Hay at Edinburgh. It would appear that the boy, Andrew Scott, was in delicate health, it being mentioned that his stay at Edinburgh would prove beneficial, as it gave him the opportunity of drinking the water of St. Bernard's well.

The Catholics of Scotland appear to have been in high favour with their brethren in England. Mr. McPherson when in London on his way to Rome, dined one day together with Bishop Douglas, with two hundred members and benefactors of a charitable institution, who drank to the health of Bishops Hay and Geddes, not forgetting to honour the national toast "the land of cakes." Mr. McPherson met with much civility and kindness on the part of Bishop Douglas, whose goodness and piety he admired more than his abilities. Some among the clergy and the Catholic laity caused the good Bishop a great deal of trouble. "In comparison with these," writes Mr. McPherson, "the most refractory subjects in Scotland were as lambs."

Mr. George Chalmers, also, having received Bishop Geddes' letter of introduction, gave a cordial welcome to Mr. McPherson, who wrote about him afterwards, as an accomplished scholar and, in the

full sense of the word, a gentleman. Mr. Chalmers was a true friend to the Scotch Catholics, and as, from his acquaintance with many leading statesmen, he professed great influence, he proposed recommending the matter of placing national superiors over the colleges at Rome, to Mr. Dundas, and through him to Lord Grenville. The distinguished author of "Caledonia" could not have more effectually shown his good will. Bishop Douglas, on the contrary, when consulted, showed himself jealous of Bishop Hay or any one else but himself, interfering with the question of national superiors. The Bishop of Rhodéz being in London, on his way to Scotland, honoured Mr. McPherson with several letters of introduction; among the rest, one to Cardinal Bernis.

Mr. Alexander Paterson, the priest of Glenlivat, in giving a full account to Bishop Hay of the discontent of the Douai students at Scalan, makes allowance for the great change in their food and studies, but thinks that if the Bishop had remained there would have been no complaint. He lays all the blame on the youth in whose charge they were left. "A young man," he writes, "in entering on a new charge, ought to be extremely cautious and circumspect in showing his authority. This precaution, I believe, Mr. Carruthers was not careful enough to take. He had to deal with his former companions,

his own school-fellows, his most intimate friends. Too overbearing a disposition with regard to some, gained him the disaffection of all. One thing brought on another, and Scalan became disgustful. To be sure, they ought to have behaved otherwise than they did. But methods must be sometimes contrived to make them do from inclination what they are obliged to do from duty. I know Mr. Carruthers to be a lad of solid piety, much good sense, and not ordinary abilities; but, whilst *in other things I commend him, in this* (the college matter) *I do not commend him.*" The worthy farmer at Scalan was resolved to leave it. On Mr. Paterson asking him his reason, he replied that Mr. Carruthers found fault with his work, and did not seem to care that he should go back after being ill some time, but engaged another man, whom he shortly dismissed without paying his wages, because he had been absent for a day or two on his own farm. If And. Carruthers went on in that way not a lad in the country would come near Scalan. Mr. Paterson, who knew the worth of the good servant, advised him to consider Bishop Hay's interest. He acknowledged the Bishop's kindness and said there was not one in the world whom he would like better to serve; but he could not and would not be "bully-ragged" while he was able to earn his bread more

peaceably and advantageously elsewhere. The good housekeeper, whose services the venerable Bishop highly appreciated, was thinking of leaving on account of Mr. Carruthers' treatment of her. Mr. Alexander Paterson's conclusion was that Mr. Carruthers should be immediately superseded, and Mr. James Paterson put in his place. This young man, indeed, was only a student, but happily he understood the art of teaching others; and he was feared and loved, at the same time, by the younger boys under his charge. All this Mr. Paterson could bear witness to from his former knowledge of him.

Mr. McPherson on reaching Bruges, wrote to Bishop Geddes, informing him of some additional incidents of his journey. He expressed great surprise at the attention shown to the French emigrant clergy in London. There were about 1,500 of them there. The same was the case at Dover. So many of them were met in the streets there that one might conclude the town was half filled with French priests. Every one paid them great respect; whilst, on the other hand, at Bruges, where he was writing, they could hardly appear in the streets without being hissed. "Generous Britain!" exclaimed the agent, "Heaven must reward such eminent charity." Not a farthing was exacted from the French priests passing between Dover and Ostend. The British Government pro-

vided for their fare : and, English passengers, when there were any, paid for their food. If there were none, the brave tars would say :—and, what they said is best given in their own language—“ D——n their eyes, would they allow a poor French priest to pay for a meal or two ? ” This homely utterance shows how widespread, wherever there were Englishmen, on land or at sea, was the sympathy of the British people with the victims of a revolution unparalleled in its atrocity. The agent then gives an account of the escape of the Principal and some students from the Scotch College at Douai. He concludes his letter by remarking that the majority of the French people were friendly to the English ; but that revolutionary emissaries with the malignity of demons, were doing everything in their power to exasperate them against British subjects.

Bishop Hay found it to be necessary to write to Mr. Andrew Carruthers, plainly telling him his mind as regarded the trouble at Scalan. But it was not an easy matter to make the young man sensible of his errors. The Bishop had ascribed to his “ harshness and severity ” the misconduct of some of the seminary and the discontent of all the rest. Mr. Carruthers defended himself ingeniously, but in that forbiddingly affected and pompous style which was then habitual to him. The Bishop, moreover, had condemned him for

giving his opinion so freely about the servants. In regard to this matter he wisely promised to do better for the future. But his tone is full of consequence, as if he were waiving a right for the public good. This affair and others he discussed with the Bishop, with the air of a man who was debating with an equal, and who was, in fact, the aggrieved and nobly forgiving opponent of the Bishop and of every one at Scalan. All this is written with the utmost reluctance. It would please the writer more to dwell, and dwell only, on Mr. Carruthers' devoted and unremitting attention to the invalid Bishop ; but inexorable history requires, above all things, that the truth be told.

It was desirable, considering the alienation of the colleges in France, that subjects for the mission should be obtained from the Scotch Monastery at Ratisbon. But such was the state of that House that anything of the kind was out of the question. Mr. Macpherson, on arriving at Ratisbon, found that the two Scotch convents in Bavaria maintained very dangerous principles. Ignorance, he stated, was the cause. One of the Scotch monks seriously assured him that St. Augustine wrote all his works in Greek. Another, a few minutes afterwards, said that throughout all the saint's writings, the Manichean heresy was clear, and that certainly he never knew a

word of Greek. They conversed only about gambling, hunting, and a kind of politics. He would be sorry to hear of one of them being in the mission. Notwithstanding, he was kindly entertained in both the monasteries. It was quite different at the English academy of Liege. There, the good old maxims prevailed. There, also, he was hospitably entertained. The remedy, Bishop Hay conceived, for the bad state of matters at Ratisbon was to have the monastery converted into a college; and an excellent ground for proceeding on was the impossibility of finding subjects for the monastery. The monks must all be natives of Scotland; and how could Scotland supply such persons now that it was so generally Protestantized? Now that the national colleges in France were lost, it would be an irreparable loss to religion in Scotland, if Ratisbon and Wirtzburg were nullified for want of subjects.

CAP. XLIX.

BISHOP GEDDES ILL AT ABERDEEN—CONTRIBUTES TO THE ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA—DR. GLEIG—MR. JAMES SHARPE AT SCALAN—PROPAGANDA ON RELIEF BILL—SCOTCH MISSION HIGHLY CONSIDERED AT ROME—DEATH OF MUNSHES—PRIESTS NOT REMOVED—MISS RIDDELL'S BEQUEST—MGR. ERSKINE'S INFLUENCE IN FAVOUR OF THE MISSION—BISHOP GEDDES ABLE TO DO LITERARY WORK—REPORT TO ROME—POPULAR PREJUDICE MUCH DIMINISHED—NUMBER OF CATHOLICS—EMIGRATION TO AMERICA—RESOURCES OF THE MISSION—INEFFICIENCY OF THE SCOTCH MONASTERIES IN GERMANY—THE CATHOLICS APPLY FOR INFORMATION REGARDING THEIR NEWLY ACQUIRED LIBERTIES—BANNS IN "PARISH CHURCH"—WHETHER THE KIRK'S CENSURES WERE TO BE SUBMITTED TO—LIBERTY IN REGARD TO BAPTISM—DUES PAYABLE TO SESSION CLERK AND BEADLE.

Bishop Geddes' illness increasing with redoubled severity, and, winter approaching, it was thought that he would be less uncomfortable at Aberdeen. The priest there, Mr. Gordon, was his nephew, and kindly invited him to his house. He removed,

accordingly, with as little fatigue as possible, to the northern city, the climate of which was considered favourable to invalids, and which, indeed, had proved so in the case of Bishop Grant. It was a cause of great distress to Bishop Geddes that he was no longer able to apply to the literary labour that was necessary for completing his history of the Scotch mission.

The invalid Bishop had bestowed his services in connection with the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, of which Dr. George Gleig, Episcopalian minister of Stirling, was the editor. His first contribution to this publication was on the subject of the Pope. Dr. Gleig wrote a friendly letter, free of all pedantry and affectation, addressing *Right Revd. Mr. Geddes*, Aberdeen, to thank the Bishop and compliment him on the candour of his paper, and on its interesting information, especially about the election of the Pope. He asked him, moreover, for a reference to one or two standard Catholic works on the Papal supremacy for insertion at the end of the article. He also suggested difficulties regarding the deposing power, not, he said, for captiousness, but to remove plausible objections to what the contemplated article on that subject would advance. He much regretted the state of the Bishop's health, which he feared, the dreadful news from France would tend to aggravate. Dr. Gleig concluded by desiring that the Bishop would send him any sugges-

tions about the Encyclopedia, which might divert his mind from his sufferings, and which would be thankfully received by the editor.

It was now appointed that Mr. Alexander Paterson should receive into his house of Cean-na-Coille beside his chapel, Charles Gordon and James Paterson, two of the students who had escaped from Douai and were studying their courses of philosophy. Mr. James Sharp was destined to supersede Mr. Carruthers at Scalan. There was some difficulty, however, in getting the latter to leave the Seminary. He still indulged in the same lofty tone of equality when discussing matters with his superiors. Peace and unity, however, required that he should no longer hold office at the Seminary. Mr. Paterson appears to have got tired of him very soon ; for we find that he proposed to exchange Mr. Carruthers for the Bishop's boarder, Andrew Scott, a youth who would be more easily satisfied with his clothing, and would, also, be no less useful than Mr. Carruthers in every way. Mr. Paterson was allowed £40 yearly on account of his three boarders.

The new agent at Rome communicated to the Scotch Bishops the congratulations of Propaganda on the repeal of the penal laws. They thanked and praised the excellent Sovereign of Great Britain, and extolled the Bishop's pastoral letter, as it was

designed to express the gratitude of the Scotch Catholics and to encourage them in piety and religion. The Cardinal, however, held out no hopes of a national president for the Scotch College. The agent, although a young man, wisely advised the more prudent policy of not pressing for a change at that time, especially as the discipline of the College happened to be tolerably good. Cardinal Antonelli bore high testimony to the excellent state of the Scotch mission. This was some compensation to the Bishops for the rejection of their plans. "There was no mission," he said, "connected with Propaganda that gave the congregation so much pleasure as the Scotch." Mr. McPherson, it appears, had better success with Albani than with the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. He was allowed a certain charge of the students in the Scotch College. This was welcome news to Bishop Hay, who looked upon the concession as providential, and indicative of still better things to come. There was no longer any difficulty about sending boys to Rome. It would now be an easy matter to fill the College if only some provision could be made for travelling expenses.

Mr. Maxwell, of Munshes, to whose efforts the Catholics were, in great measure, indebted for the Relief Bill, did not long survive to enjoy the benefit

of his successful exertions. He was thrown from his horse in September, and died unconscious, the third day after the accident. As he was a benefactor of the mission Bishop Hay called on all the clergy to celebrate thrice for the repose of his soul. Having died without making a will, his sister Mrs. Maxwell of Terraughty, inherited all his fortune. Her husband, although a Protestant, permitted Mr. Robertson and two emigrant French priests to remain undisturbed at Munshes.

There died this year, also, to the great regret of many friends, another friend of the mission, Miss Dorothy Riddell, aunt to the Laird of Kirkconnell. This benefactress bequeathed to the mission £1,000.

Monseigneur Erskine on arriving at Edinburgh, paid a visit to Bishop Hay. He had the interests of the Scotch College at Rome much at heart. He had great influence with Cardinals Albani and Talada as well as the Holy Father himself; and he promised to use it in favour of the mission. He also took into consideration the proposal to induce the British Government to move in the affair of national superiors. He had charge, on occasion of visiting his relations in Great Britain, to testify when opportunity occurred the grateful sense which his masters entertained of the favours lately bestowed on Catholics in Britain and of the deliverance of the Italian States from the

dangers which lately threatened them. Monseigneur Erskine was graciously received by some of the higher people in London. He promised on his return from visiting his relations in Fifeshire to pay another visit to Bishop Hay.

It affords pleasure to find that Bishop Geddes, notwithstanding his great sufferings, was still able to apply to literary work. In compliance with the request of the Roman Prelate, Bishop Hay begged of him to dictate to Mr. Gordon a rough sketch of the principal subjects which he thought should be alluded to in the intended account of mission affairs. Bishop Geddes remarked that nothing would occur to him that his friend would not also think of. His idea was that the account of mission affairs should be drawn up in the form of a letter to the Prelate, beginning with an appropriate acknowledgment of their confidence in him. They might assure him and beg him to assure others, that none could be more sincerely attached to the Holy See than they were, both from a sense of duty and also out of the warmest gratitude for its paternal care. They might add their resolution always to instil similar sentiments into the people under their charge; and always to live so as to do honour to religion and to prove themselves not unworthy of the favour and protection of the established Government. It

might also be said that the only exception to the perfect unanimity of the Catholic clergy was the unhappy dispute with Principal Gordon, of which it might be well to give Mgr. Erskine a short outline. The report might, likewise, allude to the fact that public prejudice against them had greatly subsided, and that an ample field of usefulness had been thrown open to them by the late Act of Parliament, but one which they must occupy with great caution and prudence, in the face of latent bigotry without, and of a latitudinarian spirit within their own body. They might then proceed to inform Mgr. Erskine of the number, the position and the circumstances of the Catholic body. Their number might be stated at 25,000 ; but of that Bishop Hay was the best judge. They might mention the emigrants to America and the departure of three or four missionaries to Canada. The report might lay before the Roman Prelate a statement of the resources on which the clergy depended for their maintenance ; which, although lately augmented by a few legacies, had, on the whole, been considerably diminished by the French Revolution. An attempt had been made to induce their people to contribute something towards the support of the clergy, and not altogether in vain. But in some parts of the country living was dear, and their people very poor. The number of missionaries,

already too small for the demands made on their services, was likely to be further diminished by the recent loss of their French seminaries at Paris and Douai ; although it was to be hoped that this loss would only be temporary. At that time the whole dependence of the mission rested on the Scotch Colleges at Rome and Valladolid. An application made by the Roman Prelate to the Spanish Ministry might be of service to the Seminary at Valladolid ; and his interference on behalf of the Roman College would confer on the mission a still more signal benefit. He might be made to understand that the Scotch Bishops desired above everything to see that College placed under the charge of Scotch Superiors, who would naturally know best what was best to be taught in preparation for a missionary life in Scotland, and would most naturally take a deeper interest than foreigners could in the success of the College. The Bishops could not desire a better Superior for it than their present agent in Rome. It was much to be wished, also, that Mgr. Erskine could obtain for the College the means of supporting twelve students. His attention, moreover, should be called to the inefficient state of the Scotch Monasteries in Germany, with a view to his concurring with the Bishops in their endeavours to effect an alteration in their Constitutions if the Monks could be brought to acquiesce. Lastly,

the subject would be exhausted if a significant hint accompanied the description of the home seminaries and their present state, that, in the preceding century, Propaganda had, for some years, maintained two schoolmasters in the Highlands.

On occasion of sending the above suggestions to Bishop Hay, Bishop Geddes requested that the Bishop would send to Dr. Gleig, a copy of "The Papist Misrepresented and Represented." He stated, also, that his health was pretty much the same ; only that he was getting more accustomed to his weakness and felt it less in consequence. As it was the last day of the year he concluded by wishing his friends many happy returns.

The missionaries and principal Catholics of Scotland had by this time pretty generally taken the Oath of Allegiance ; and it was announced in the newspapers that they had done so. Notwithstanding the late partial repeal of the penal laws, the spirit of intolerance was far from being laid ; and in several parts of the country attempts were still made to curtail the measure of liberty permitted by the law. The Catholics, therefore, in a body, applied to the law officers of the Crown in Scotland for information as to the precise limits of their liberty on certain disputed points. (January 16, 1794.) Three of these related to the celebration of marriage : 1st.—Was it

necessary for them to proclaim their banns of marriage in the Parish Church, or would not proclamation in their own chapel suffice? 2nd.—Must they be married by the Minister of the parish or submit to a fine? 3rd.—And if one of the parties were a Protestant, and was willing to be married by the Priest, was that Protestant party exposed to Church censures and a fine? The Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General, in a joint paper, informed the Memorialists that the law on these points had not been changed. It was still necessary that banns of marriage should be proclaimed in the Parish Church; and no one but a minister of the establishment was permitted to celebrate a marriage with the sole exception, made in the reign of Queen Ann, in favour of the Episcopal Clergy. An infringement of these conditions still rendered the parties liable to all the serious penalties attached to clandestine marriages. To a query relating to the registration of Catholic infants in the books of the parish, it was answered that no obligation lay on any one whether Catholic or Protestant, to register his child in the parish books; but the utility of the practice ought to recommend it to every one. Was it imperative on a Catholic who had given public scandal to submit to public censures in the established Church? The Memorialists were informed that a refusal to submit to such a censure in-

volved no civil penalties, entailing nothing more than excommunication or exclusion from the spiritual privileges of the establishment, a penalty which plainly could have no force in the case of persons who were already separated from that communion. No law existed to prevent a Catholic Priest from baptising any child if the parents desired it, even the illegitimate children of Protestant parents regarding whom the inquiry had been made. Nevertheless in parishes where the session clerk and the beadle had uniformly and immemorially claimed their dues for Baptism, Catholics, like all other persons residing in those parishes, were legally bound to pay them even in the case where neither session clerk nor beadle were asked to officiate.

CAP. L.

FURTHER INQUIRY AS TO THE STATE OF THE LAW—THE CATHOLICS LOYAL SUBJECTS---STATESMEN FRIENDLY ---MGR. ERSKINE AT EDINBURGH--AT LONDON--CORRESPONDS WITH BISHOP GEDDES—HIS ADMIRATION OF EDINBURGH—BISHOP GEDDES, ALTHOUGH ILL, ENGAGED IN WRITING A LIFE OF SAINT MARGARET—WRITES ALSO ON THE SCOTCH MISSION, AND FOR ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA---DR. GLEIG, THE EDITOR MUCH PLEASED—THE DECLINE OF TRADE AT GLASGOW SERIOUSLY AFFECTS THE HIGHLANDERS—SOME HIGHLAND GENTLEMEN MEET AT FORT AUGUSTUS—RESOLVE TO RAISE A CATHOLIC REGIMENT—THEIR OFFER AT FIRST DECLINED—FINALLY ACCEPTED—BISHOP HAY PERSUADED TO FORWARD THE SCHEME—CAUSES OF OPPOSITION—THE REGIMENT IN IRELAND—SHAMEFUL CONDUCT OF THE YEOMANRY—IN 1802, THE REGIMENT DISBANDED—THE CHAPLAIN OBTAINS LAND FOR THE DISBANDED MEN IN CANADA—THE HIGHLANDERS HIGHLY PRAISED—THE ONLY PEOPLE FROM WHOM NO COMPLAINT WAS EVER HEARD—MR. MCDONELL'S DISINTERESTEDNESS—RECOMMENDS AN ORGANIZED MILITARY EMIGRATION TO BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

Did the law, the Memorialists further inquired, authorize masters in schools supported by the Society for the Propagation of Christian knowledge, to force Catholic children to learn the Protestant catechism, or to expel them in case of refusal? The practice, it was added, was a pernicious one to the children, as their minds became confused between the lessons of the school-master and their parents' instructions at home. In reply it was stated that the practice of schools supported by the society in question was regulated solely by its private rules. Any complaints, therefore, that the Memorialists might have to make must be addressed to the managers of the society who alone had it in their power to grant or refuse any request made to them.

"Are not the Catholics, by the late Act in their favour, put on an equal footing, at least as to all the above articles, with His Majesty's other subjects who are of a different communion from the established Church?" Such was the final query of the Memorialists. They must have derived but little comfort from the answer of the lawyers. "Having given specific answers to all the above queries, an answer to this one appears almost unnecessary. The purpose of the late Act of Parliament is clearly expressed, both in the preamble and the enactment, to have been merely this, to enable Roman Catholics to hold and enjoy

property of all kinds without molestation on account of their religious persuasion, and to substitute in place of the formula (by which they were obliged under the Act of King William to renounce their religion) an oath of abjuration and declaration sufficient to secure their allegiance to the King and to the Constitution of the country." If words mean anything, these words amounted to this: we are unwilling to remind you that so far from being on an equal footing with your fellow-subjects, all that the late Act did for you was to enable you to possess your own property without absolutely denying your religion. The memorial of the Catholics concluded in these words: "The Roman Catholics beg leave to observe that they propose the above queries by no means with any view or wish to be exempted from what the laws of their country required, but only to know what these laws require from them that they may faithfully observe them and not be exposed to illegal severities and impositions with which people of unfriendly dispositions may endeavour to distress them. They are and wish to give every proof in their power of their being faithful subjects, good citizens and worthy members of society, and they humbly apprehend that the late indulgence granted them by the Legislature entitles them to be treated as such while they behave themselves conformably to these characters, especially in

matters where their consciences are interested and in which they wish to give offence to no man. They beg leave further to observe that they do not want to be exempted from such legal Kirk dues as are required in any of the above cases and are paid by other non-conformists ; but as they observe that such dues are never exacted from other non-conformists and rigourously demanded from Catholics, and when exacted, are sometimes more, sometimes less, at the arbitrium of the Kirk session ; they, therefore, wish to know what the law precisely requires on this head, that they may not be exposed to the arbitrary imposition of people prejudiced against them." So, as the learned lawyers pointed out, there remained some unpleasant disabilities to await the action of a more enlightened age. No doubt, the statesmen of the day did their best, and succeeded in removing the more unjust and harassing points of the penal code ; but they judged, and perhaps wisely, that something must be left to satisfy the cravings of blind bigotry. Of the remaining evils there was none that inflicted any serious hardship ; but they were exceedingly galling, vexatious and humiliating. What, for instance, could be more so than the legal obligation Catholics still lay under to have their marriage banns proclaimed in the "parish church," as the Presbyterian meeting house was called ? What purpose could it serve to

make this proclamation in the midst of a congregation of strangers to the parties proclaimed? If there were any valid objection to the union of such parties it must be best known in the congregation to which they belonged.

There appears to have been a want of courtesy on the part of Mgr. Erskine when at Edinburgh, returning from the North. He spent ten days in the city without ever returning any one of Bishop Hay's frequent visits to him. This was disappointing, as the Bishop hoped by a personal interview to obtain something in favour of the Scotch College at Rome. On his return to London he was received at Court on the King's Birthday. This favourable reception he owed, no doubt, to his connection with a noble family as well as to the friendly relations of Great Britain with Rome. It is noteworthy that even the newspapers alluded without disapprobation to the fact that he was a secret envoy from the Court of Rome. In the month of May he wrote to Bishop Geddes, in reply to two letters which the Bishop had addressed to him when he was in Scotland. It gave him the greatest pleasure, he said, to learn how much the Bishop was esteemed and loved by his numerous acquaintance in Scotland. He had been as far north as St. Andrews and found the climate very mild, although it was winter. Notwithstanding that he was born in

a distant country, he experienced on approaching Cambo, his family seat, sensations such as arise on revisiting after a long absence, one's paternal home. His mention of Edinburgh is particularly complimentary to that city. "It was a charming town. Every view of it and from it is picturesque; and that mixture of old and of new, engages not only the eye, but also the imagination. As for its society, I must say it is the pleasantest I ever met with; and I shall never forget the civilities I received there." He had been lately appointed auditor to the Pope, a dignity next to that of Cardinal, and a near step to the Cardinalate. His predecessor, Cardinal Roverella, was to continue to act for him till his return to Rome.

There was great sympathy, meanwhile, with the invalid Bishop amongst his many friends. Among the rest, Lord Monboddo frequently inquired for him of the clergy at Edinburgh. If he were not fully restored to health it would not be for the want of the good wishes of all classes at the capital, and he would not have to remain long at Aberdeen. It afforded him great comfort in the trying times of illness, that he was able to apply to literary composition. He engaged in preparing a life of Saint Margaret, founding on the biography written in Italian by Father Aloysius Leslie. Other literary projects,

moreover, occupied his mind. He had begun to dictate a series of reflections on the affairs of the Scotch mission, and had finished a preliminary chapter on the choice of boys for the seminaries. He also proposed writing an account of the state of religion in Scotland during the troubled years of 1745 and 1746. In addition to all this the Bishop was able to write articles for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. He had finished one on the subject of the Pope, with which the editor, Dr. Gleig, was much pleased. It was to be published in a few weeks. The Bishop had another paper in preparation. The subject was his former Professor, Boscovich and his Theory of Corpuscular Attraction. This was very gratifying to Professor Robison of the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Gleig declared that he had seldom seen a man to whom any news gave more delight than to the Professor when he was told that Bishop Geddes had undertaken to write a life of Boscovich. Professor Robison was a great admirer of the Italian philosopher, considering him scarcely inferior to Newton himself. His own views on Boscovich had not been published. Some of these he promised to impart to the Bishop.

The disturbed state of the European continent affected so seriously the manufacturing trade of Glasgow, that the Highlanders, who had faithfully

served the manufacturers during two years, lost their employment. This unfortunate state of matters induced some gentlemen connected with the Highlands, to hold a meeting at Fort Augustus, in order to consult as to the best means of providing for the people who had been thrown out of employment. At this meeting it was resolved that they should offer to raise a regiment consisting entirely of Catholics under a Colonel who should also be a Catholic and having a Catholic priest for chaplain. This was, no doubt, a bold measure, especially as a similar offer had been made some years before and declined. Bishop Hay, when asked to give his assistance, could not at first consent. He had many misgivings, and would not allow Rev. Alex. McDonell to leave his charge at Glasgow even temporarily to attend the meeting at Fort Augustus. The Bishop went himself to Glasgow, and after conferring with the proposed chaplain and the youthful chief, Glogarry, who was to have the command of the intended regiment, having also seen letters from Bishop Chisholm and other Highland gentlemen, entered warmly into the scheme, had the report of the meeting copied for distribution amongst the Lowland gentry and introduced a deputation from the Fort Augustus meeting to the Lord Advocate. The Bishop appears to have been favourably im-

pressed with the candour and politeness of the parties whom he met at Glasgow. He was "much edified," he said, with Glengarry. "He is an amiable young gentleman, and I hope will one day be an honour and support to his country and to religion." In London the deputation met with great civility. They found there the Lord Advocate and his uncle, Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, who presented the address of the meeting to His Majesty the King. In a few days the Secretary of State informed them that His Majesty viewed with much approbation so great a proof of the loyalty of His Majesty's subjects in Scotland, but, that, in existing circumstances, he felt it to be necessary to decline their offer of a regiment. The Rev. A. McDonell was now ill, for some time, in consequence of disappointment and over exertion. Notwithstanding, he and his chief persevered in their application. They obtained another interview with Mr. Dundas, who listened favourably to the exposition of their views as to the effects of the Highland emigration. In ten days they were again invited to an interview, at which Mr. Dundas received them with much politeness, and, after some further discussion, gave them hopes of obtaining the command of a fencible regiment for the young Highland chief. Opposition was made, meanwhile, by the fascinating Duchess of

Gordon, whose son, the Marquess of Huntly, was at the time raising a regiment, and the majority of his dependants being Catholics would, no doubt, have preferred to enlist in a Catholic regiment. Another Highland chief, Sir James Grant, for a like cause, opposed the scheme. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, Glengarry finally obtained his regiment. It was recruited largely from the Highlands; and Mr. McDonell was appointed its chaplain, although for his appointment it was necessary to evade the existing law. It was no slight recommendation to the regiment that it volunteered to serve in any part of Great Britain or Ireland, Jersey or Guernsey, several other Scotch volunteer regiments having refused to serve even in England. This offer was very acceptable to the Government, as it established a precedent for all fencible corps that might afterwards be raised. The first service of the new regiment was in the Isle of Guernsey which, in 1795, was threatened with invasion by the French. It remained there till the breaking out of the Irish rebellion in 1798. It was in that year ordered to Ireland. The most disturbed parts of the country were destined to be the scene of their services, the Government relying on the good conduct, bravery and activity of the mountaineer soldiers. The counties of Wicklow and Wexford, together with the mountain-

ous regions and swamps of Connemara, where the most lawless characters had taken refuge, and who frequently issued from their fastnesses during the night to harass the peaceably disposed inhabitants and burn their houses and outbuildings, presented a wide field to the prowess and good management of the Glengarry regiment. Mr. McDonell, acting in the twofold capacity of chaplain to the regiment and counsel to the chief, was able to prevent the excesses so generally indulged in, and by which the native yeomanry, especially, won for themselves unenviable distinction, and became objects of terror and detestation to the insurgent inhabitants. There was no kind of outrage of which they were not guilty. They seized the Catholic churches in the counties of Wicklow, Carlow and Wexford, and made stables of them for their horses. At first the Highlanders also inspired terror. If their own fellow-countrymen acted so cruelly and so profanely, what might the people not expect of those semi-nude barbarians from the mountains of Scotland? They were speedily undeceived. The chief, acting in concert with the chaplain, restored the churches to their proper uses and invited the clergy and congregations to resume possession. They caused the soldiers to clean them and adapt them once more for the purposes of religious worship. The Highlanders, indeed, like the yeomanry

hunted in the least accessible places, but for a very different purpose. They searched for and found the hunted down and terrified inhabitants, and brought them back to their devastated fields and deserted homes. This was not the usual way of quelling rebellions. It was, however, an effectual one, and worthy of an enlightened age. Peace and order were soon restored throughout all the districts assigned to the Highland soldiers. The people everywhere returned with joy to their churches and dwellings, relying on the protection of parties who had no interest to deceive them.

At the peace of 1802 the Glengarry regiment was disbanded, and its members were again reduced to great difficulty, the Scotch manufacturing trade having been so circumscribed by the late sanguinary war that the Highlanders could not find an asylum or employment in their own country. In these circumstances Mr. McDonell began to entertain the hope that he might establish for them a claim upon the Government, in so far as to obtain for them grants of land in Upper Canada, where so many of their friends were already settled on lands given as rewards for services rendered during the American Revolutionary War. In furtherance of this view the Rev. Alexander McDonell repaired to London, and sought an interview with Premier Addington. The

Minister received him with the greatest cordiality, complimented him on the bravery and loyalty of his countrymen, and assured him that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to afford substantial proof of the good will of His Majesty's Government towards them, inasmuch as, of all His Majesty's subjects, the Highlanders were always the readiest to come forward at their country's call, and the only class from whom a complaint had never been heard. Mr. Addington further declared to Mr. McDonell that nothing gave him deeper cause of regret than to see such brave and loyal subjects forced by adverse circumstances to the necessity of quitting their native land to seek in a distant country subsistence for themselves and families. The Minister desired to induce Mr. McDonell to take his people to the Island of Trinidad, which, shortly before, had been ceded by Spain to Great Britain. Mr. McDonell was offered there, for every head of a family, eighty acres of land, as much money as would suffice to place four slaves on every farm, a physician and a schoolmaster for the new colony, and for a period of three years as much wine for the use of the colonists as he and the doctor should consider necessary for the preservation of their health. He himself, moreover, and some special professional friends, whose services, no doubt, would be required,

were promised such salaries as would make them independent. These were tempting inducements. Mr. McDonell, nevertheless, felt that it was for him a sacred duty to decline the Minister's well-meant propositions. He had, hitherto, he said, in reply to Mr. Addington, devoted his life to the good of his fellow-creatures. He could not now think of persuading them to emigrate to an unhealthy tropical climate. Having declined the magnificent offer of the Premier, Mr. McDonell renewed his solicitation for a grant of land in Upper Canada. Mr. Addington at first objected to granting Mr. McDonell's request, on the ground that the hold of the British Government on the Province of Upper Canada was so slight that he did not think himself warranted in encouraging the King's loyal subjects to emigrate to that colony. Mr. McDonell, on the other hand, assured the Minister that the emigration of the Highlanders to Upper Canada would form the strongest possible tie between that colony and the parent state. He, moreover, suggested at the same time, the advantage that would accrue to Great Britain by organizing the disbanded Fencibles into a military emigration to the British Provinces of North America and granting to them land after a limited period of service. If such a measure had been adopted much trouble that afterwards arose would probably have been averted.

CAP. LI.

THE HIGHLAND LANDLORDS OPPOSE EMIGRATION—
 MR. M'DONELL, NOTWITHSTANDING ALL DIFFICULTIES, BRINGS HIS PEOPLE TO CANADA IN THE YEAR 1803-4—APPOINTED TO ST. RAPHAEL'S—HOW HE LANDED—INCIDENT AT KINGSTON—OBTAINING PATENTS FOR EARLIER SETTLERS; AND THEN FOR HIS OWN—THE MOSES OF HIS PEOPLE—PROVIDES CHURCHES—PAPAL ENVOYS—THE PRESS FAVOURS THEM—NARRATIVE OF REPEAL IN ITALIAN—THE POPE THANKED FOR OPENING HIS PORTS TO THE BRITISH FLEET AND ENTERTAINING BRITISH TROOPS—A GOLD MEDAL TO EVERY OFFICER—MR. HIPPISELEY—STUDENTS—BISHOP HAY IN LONDON—EMIGRANT FRENCH CLERGY ON DUTY IN SCOTLAND—CASE OF A FRENCH PRIEST—BISHOP GEDDES ABLE TO APPLY TO LITERARY PURSUITS—BISHOP HAY ON SOME OF THE CLERGY—MR. CHARLES GORDON—BISHOP GEDDES' DIFFICULTIES.

At length, in March, 1803, Mr. McDonell obtained the sign manual for a grant of land to every officer and soldier of the Glengarry regiment whom he should introduce into Upper Canada. Such good fortune must meet with opposition. As soon as the

fact became known the Highland proprietors took alarm and endeavoured by every means that could be thought of to prevent their people from emigrating. The regulations of the Emigrant Act were rigidly enforced, and many of the poor men, after selling their effects and repairing with their families to the ports of embarkation, were not permitted to leave the country. Such was the effect produced by the fears and threats of the Highland lairds on the Home Ministry, that even Lord Hobart, Colonial Secretary of State, urged Mr. McDonell to conduct his emigrants to Upper Canada, by way of the United States, in order that the odium of directly assisting emigration from the Highlands might be avoided, there being at that time a Provincial Law which granted 200 acres of land to every loyal subject entering Upper Canada from the United States with the intention to settle in the Province. Mr. McDonell could not be guided by this advice ; and, heedless of opposition, made his way to Upper Canada with his followers, as he best could, in the years 1803-4. He may be said to have actually smuggled away his people, so numerous and so vexatious were the restrictions that stood in the way of their departure.

Mr. McDonell landed in Quebec in 1803, and was immediately appointed to the mission of St. Raphael, Upper Canada. A remarkable incident occurred at

his landing. There were no wharves in those days at Quebec. What happened in consequence may well be alluded to as showing the extraordinarily powerful physique which characterized the Highlanders of a generation or two ago. The ship lay out in the river, and Mr. McDonell was considering the best way of getting ashore, when, as he himself related to Chevalier W. J. MacDonell, of Toronto, "a fine strapping young fellow waded out to the ship, took me in his arms as if I had been a baby, and carried me ashore." This "fine strapping young fellow" was the Chevalier's uncle, John McDonell, in his day a renowned "North Wester," who died about forty years ago, at his residence, Point Fortune, on the Ottawa. It has been well remarked: "there were giants in those days." Mr. McDonell, the chaplain, was himself a man of herculean stature, six feet four inches in height and stout in proportion. What, then, must not the fine fellow who carried him so easily have been? Bishop McDonell related, as the Chevalier informs us, that Colonel John McDonell, the father of the young fellow, John McDonell, one Spring morning, when the ice was breaking up, ran into his son's room and cried out, "John, you are a pretty fellow to be lying abed at this time of day, while a poor man is being carried down the river on a cake of ice." John at once leapt

from his couch, hastened down to the river, plunged in, "*unaccoutred* as he was," rescued the man who was on the point of perishing, and returned in triumph to the paternal dwelling.

The ex-chaplain's strength and courage were not inferior to his stature. Later, when Bishop at Kingston, which was at that time a hot bed of Orangeism, he was called upon, together with his Vicar-General, Mr. William McDonald, one 12th of July, to assist in quelling a riot. His splendid figure was conspicuous. A worthy disciple of King William (*unworthy* we should say, for King William opposed all he could the enacting of the penal laws), in a state of great excitement, pressed through the crowd, declaring his intention to have "a hit at that big anti-Christ." The Bishop looked at him, and in his calm, deliberate manner, *jerked out*: "It would be the dearest blow that ever you struck." The *pretended disciple* instantly subsided.

On arriving in Upper Canada, Mr. McDonell presented his credentials to Lieutenant-General Hunter, who was at the time Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and obtained for his followers the land allotted to them according to the Sign Manual. He took up his residence in the County of Glengarry, and had there his chief dwelling place for a quarter of a century. Very few of the emigrants

who had previously arrived in the country had procured legal tenures for the lands on which they were settled. In consequence of this state of matters, he repaired to York, and, after a good deal of trouble, obtained patent deeds for 160,000 acres of land in favour of his new clients. After some further delay, patents for the lands of his own followers were also secured. Thus, Mr. McDonell, the Moses of his people, if he did not conduct them through a wilderness, brought them in safety over the great ocean, notwithstanding the most formidable opposition, and established them, although not in a land actually flowing with milk and honey, in a country that abounds in every product conducive to healthful life. His next care was to provide churches, of which there were only three in the whole Province on his arrival, two of wood and one a stone building. There were no more than two priests, one a Frenchman who knew not a word of the English language, the other an Irishman who soon afterwards left the country. There was, thus, a vast field for Mr. McDonell's missionary labours ; and he devoted himself to them during the remainder of his days.

Having seen our Catholic Highlanders, under the guidance of Mr. McDonell, securely and permanently settled in Canada, we go back a few years and find an English gentleman, Sir John Hippisley, who was

a member of Parliament and a Protestant, laudably endeavouring to establish diplomatic relations between the Courts of Rome and Great Britain. It was no secret that Papal envoys, although not publicly recognized as such, had been already received at the British Court. Such was Mgr. Erskine; and Sir John Hippisley had been similarly employed. The newspapers of the day, in alluding to these well-known facts, expressed no disapprobation. It was in contemplation, even to introduce into Parliament a measure for establishing official relations between the British and Roman Courts. In order to prepare the way for so great a change, Mr. Hippisley had charge to ask the Scotch agent at Rome, in the name of his Government, to supply any documents proving the desire of Propaganda that the British Catholics should live in submission to the established Government, especially in the years 1715 and 1745. It was of great importance to secure the favour of the Pope to the proposed measure. Mr. Hippisley, accordingly, asked for an Italian translation of a narrative of the repeal of the penal laws in England which Mr. Macpherson had given to Cardinal Antonelli. This translation, Mr. Hippisley delivered with his own hand to the Holy Father. Although not at Rome in the quality of an ambassador, Mr. Hippisley possessed more influence than

all the foreign ambassadors together. The envoy from England was in high favour with the British Catholics at Rome. The clergy, secular and regular, joined in a public address to him, testifying their appreciation of his strenuous endeavours to establish anew friendly relations between the British and Roman Courts, whilst at the same time showing much friendliness to Catholics generally. The British Catholics resident at Rome, in like manner, expressed the gratification afforded them by the conduct of the Pope in opening his ports for the supply of the British fleet, and by causing a British regiment of cavalry to be honourably received and entertained for three months in the Papal States. The Pope, moreover, as a mark of his special esteem for the British nation, presented each officer with a gold medal. The negotiations conducted by Mr. Hippisley, no doubt, largely contributed towards these friendly intercommunications. This was expressed in the address, which also alluded to the approbation by the British Cabinet of Mr. Hippisley's diplomatic services and the esteem which they had won for him among all the members of the Roman Court. Parties who took a deep interest in these matters, now hoped to see the diplomatist speedily appointed British Minister at the Papal Court. It was suggested that the Bishops of Scot-

land should present to Mr. Hippisley, a complimentary address. Mgr. Erskine, however, advised that a private assurance of their gratitude for his services would be more to the purpose in the actual state of matters. Bishop Geddes, accordingly, addressed to Mr. Hippisley a polite private letter. In reply, the diplomatist assured him of his own friendly dispositions and those of the British Government towards the Holy See and the Catholics of Great Britain, in whose behalf he hoped to see substantial justice finally meted out by the nation.

Some students from Douai, who were destined for Valladolid, may be mentioned here, as their names were long familiar to many Catholics of more recent times. They were William Wallace, so long chaplain, afterwards, at Traquair; Alexander Badenoch, known, for several years, as an able and edifying priest at Edinburgh, and George Gordon, for a long time highly esteemed in the North, as the priest of Dufftown. In their voyage from London to Spain they were driven, by stress of weather, as far as the coast of Brazil. They were three months on their passage; and it cost the mission £100, in addition to the expense of their journey from Oporto to Valladolid. The Principal there did not think that the talents of Mr. Wallace were equal to those of his two companions. But he described him as solid, very exact

in the performance of his duties, and, withal, a friend of his books. This was a moderate estimate. If Mr. Wallace had applied his abilities to general literature he would have figured among the lights of his time. Some controversial writings which only he produced, like most works of the kind, are now forgotten. The Principal gave Mr. Badenoch credit for talents as well as uncommon application; and, what was even of more importance, he possessed the art of securing the affection of his companions and the confidence of his superiors. Mr. Gordon he spoke of as a boy of talents who would advance in learning. (Letter of Principal Gordon to Bishop Geddes.)

About this time Bishop Hay, after visiting his invalid coadjutor at Aberdeen, repaired to London, where he was hospitably entertained at the house of Bishop Douglas. He paid a visit to Mr. Burke, who had so ably advocated in Parliament the cause of the Catholics. This celebrated statesman, together with Mrs. Burke, received the Scotch Bishop with the utmost cordiality; and the visit was repeated the following week. He also visited Monsignor Colbert, Bishop of Rhodéz, who had done signal service in the dispute with Principal Gordon. This excellent Prelate introduced him to the emigrant Bishop, St. Pol de Leon. At their interview was

discussed the subject of employing some of the French emigrant priests on the Scotch mission. Several of them were already labouring with much acceptance in Bishop Gibson's district. There was a second interview on the subject ; but Bishop Hay would come to no determination without consulting his coadjutor. There had been no falling off in Mgr. Erskine's friendship. The Bishop dined at that Prelate's house in company with Bishops Gibson and Douglas. On his return to Scotland Bishop Hay considered anew the question of employing some of the emigrant clergy. Shortly before his visit to London two of them were engaged in teaching French and drawing in the University of St. Andrews. From what he had heard and seen of the emigrants in London he was much inclined to have some of them on the mission. He had a long conversation with one of them whom Mgr. St. Pol de Leon had introduced to him. The Bishop represented to the young priest the difficulties and hardships both as regarded food and labour that must be encountered in the mission. It came to his knowledge afterwards that the young emigrant had been hurt by his observations, as they seemed to imply a suspicion that the difficulties referred to would discourage him. All that those unfortunate exiles desired was that they

should be independent of public support. In return for their services they asked only food and clothing. Many of them were applying diligently to the study of the English language. Bishop Hay met with some whose proficiency was very great. The opinion of his coadjutor appears to have been in harmony with his own; for, before the end of the year, there were six emigrant French priests on duty in Scotland. From their anxiety to make for themselves an independent livelihood, many of the emigrants sought to subsist by teaching in parts of the country where there were no Catholics. One of these applied to Bishop Hay for permission to say Mass without a server and without any person being present. This good priest, who was formerly Vicar-General of Lisieux, taught French in a part of the country where it was impossible to hear Mass, and where there was not a single Catholic. Considering the circumstances, the Bishop gave him permission, according to his application, on Sundays and holidays. But afterwards, doubting his authority in the matter, he applied specially to the Holy See.

Bishop Geddes, meanwhile, although the weakness in his arms and hands was increasing, continued to apply with his usual diligence to literary pursuits, and completed this summer his paper on Catholic affairs in Scotland in the years 1745-46.

He contemplated writing a life of Boscovich and was expecting from Rome some materials for the purpose. The agent there informed him that a fellow-countyman of his was collecting matter for a biography of the admirable Creighton. Perhaps the Bishop could throw some light on his history? To this the invalid replied that the life written by Sir Thomas Urquhart, which he had read long ago, was of suspicious authority; and some of the statements were proved absolutely false by their anachronisms. The late Lord Hailes had published a life of Creighton. There was also an account of him in the *British Biography*. But the most authentic history of him that Bishop Geddes had ever seen, was inserted in the dedication of Cicero's *Paradoxa* (inscribed to Creighton by Aldus Minutius the younger,) and in the annotations of that work. It was published about the year 1581, when Creighton was actually at Venice.

The small chapel house at Aberdeen, in which the invalid Bishop resided, was now well filled. Beside the Bishop's nephew, Mr. John Gordon, who was the officiating priest of Aberdeen, there were Mr. Farquarson and three Douai students who had been lately boarding in Glenlivat with Mr. Paterson. These four occupied the upper story. This last arrangement had not proved satisfactory, owing

chiefly to the impracticable character of Mr. Andrew Carruthers, who, when Bishop Hay remonstrated with him, wrote a long reply "taking to pieces" all that the Bishop had said.—(Bishop Hay to Bishop Geddes, Jan. 10th). This little seminary was shortly joined by Mr. Andrew Scott, who had passed the preceding winter with Bishop Hay at Edinburgh. Mr. Farquarson's office was that of preparing the four youths for ordination. One of them soon abandoned his studies. Another was Mr. Charles Gordon, so long known afterwards as the worthy priest of Aberdeen. Mr. Farquarson, in communicating these facts to the agent at Rome, informed him, at the same time, that his worthy and afflicted friend, Bishop Geddes, suffered much at times, and that he signed his name with difficulty. It would melt a tiger's heart, he added, to see the best of men thus exhausted before his time. His days are full, though less numerous than might have been expected. He retained, however, Mr. Farquarson thought, his mental faculties better than ever. In addition to his bodily affliction three or four years of his Spanish pension remained unpaid, and he was involved in church affairs. His allowance from Rome was inconsiderable; and hence he was in straitened circumstances.

CAP. LII.

A STRANGE SALE—BAD PRINCIPLES SPREADING—THE CASE OF DOWNIE—COLLEGE IN ENGLAND—ENGLISH “CATHOLIC COMMITTEE” AND “CIS ALPINE-CLUB” SUBMIT TO THE BISHOPS—BISHOP HAY AND MR. BURKE—MGR. ERSKINE, THE PAPAL ENVOY, VERY FRIENDLY—STUDENTS UNABLE TO GO ABROAD—TAUGHT BY BISHOP CHISHOLM—VISITORS AT SCALAN—BISHOPS MEET AT GIBSTON—BISHOP HAY CONTINUED IN PROCURATORSHIP—LETTERS TO ROME—NUMBER OF CATHOLICS 45,000—AN AMERICAN PRIEST IN OFFICE AT THE SCOTCH COLLEGE, ROME—TWO PLACES IN PROPAGANDA COLLEGE TO SCOTCH STUDENTS—MR. FARQUARSON SUCCEEDS MR. M'DONELL AT GLASGOW—THE FAMILIES OF GUELPH AND STEWART RECONCILED—LITERARY LABOURS OF BISHOP GEDDES—HIS DIFFICULTIES—GREATER EDUCATION FACILITIES NECESSARY—THE DUKE OF GORDON LIBERAL TOWARDS CATHOLICS—PRAYERS FOR THE KING.

It pained the suffering Bishop moreover, to learn on inquiring of his friend, the agent, that the portrait of Baron Menzies of Pitfodels, which was in the recreation room of the Scotch College, together with other

portraits, all the English books and most of the classics in every language, had been sold by the late rector, in the Piazza Navona. No wonder if the Bishops made every exertion to have a national President appointed.

As a warning to all Catholics in times of political agitation, the case of one Downie, a member of the Edinburgh congregation, comes now to be recorded. The principles of the French Revolution were spreading over all the countries of Europe. Scotland was not exempt from the contagion. At Edinburgh there was formed an association which called itself "Friends of the People." It was believed to be in correspondence with the French convention, perhaps even subsidized by it. This society, in the course of the year, fell into the hands of justice. The ring-leaders, and among the rest the Unitarian minister of Dundee, were tried and transported. This warning was lost upon the association. It still persisted in its treasonable designs. A second disclosure was made when pike heads of a deadly shape were discovered. These weapons combined the properties of a pike, an axe and a small scythe. Watt, a wine merchant, in whose house they were first found, was arrested, together with a blacksmith named Orrock, who had made them. At first these parties refused to give any informa-

tion concerning their employers and associates. A few days of more strict imprisonment, however, induced them to speak. It came to light that the pikes had been ordered and paid for by David Downie, a goldsmith, who, for many months, had been associated with the "Friends of the People." This unfortunate man was a member of the small Catholic congregation. He bore a good character and had been advanced to the post of treasurer of the Goldsmiths' Company. He could not claim to be excused for his treasonable practices on the ground of youth, for he was more than sixty years of age. Some time before this man was arrested, Bishop Hay had denounced the "Friends of the People" from the pulpit, insisting, at the same time, on the duties of loyalty and obedience. This denunciation excited Downie's radical enthusiasm, and he said: "The Bishop has turned recruiting sergeant to King George, and I will have nothing more to do with him." He, in pursuance of his threat, gave up attending at the Bishop's chapel.

Watt and Downie were tried for their lives and sentenced to death. Downie now came to a better state of mind, and wrote a penitent letter to Bishop Hay, praying forgiveness and begging of the Bishop to send a priest to prepare him for death. Mr. Alexander Cameron, who succeeded his uncle, Bishop

Geddes, in the rectorship of Valladolid, was appointed for this service. There being some extenuating circumstances in Downie's case, the jury had recommended him to mercy, and a memorial in his behalf was sent to London. Bishop Hay visited him, meanwhile, and did all in his power to console Mrs. Downie and her family. The name of the condemned man was recommended in St. Margaret's chapel to the prayers of the people on the Sunday immediately preceding the day fixed for his execution. He was, however, respited at first for a month ; and, afterwards, his sentence was commuted to transportation.

The Bishop was now preparing for the annual meeting at Gibston. From Scalan he wrote to the agent at Rome informing him of the success of his visit to London. He had satisfactorily settled with Bishop Douglas regarding the erection of a College in England, in order to supply the loss of the College at Douai.

It gave him much pleasure to state that the English gentlemen who had taken part in the "Catholic Committee" and afterwards in the "cis Alpine-club," which succeeded it, had given up their mistaken ideas and declared entirely for the Bishops. He mentions his most friendly relations with Mr. Burke, and adds that this illustrious statesman was much pleased to hear of the intention to have a College in England

and recommended that they should apply to Government for a charter or letters patent in order to render it permanent, giving them to understand, at the same time, that such favour would not be refused. The Bishops standing well at Court would meet with every encouragement. There was no lessening of the Bishop's friendship with the Papal envoy, Mgr. Erskine, who showed him every attention, and shortly before he left the city invited him, together with the English Bishops, and some other gentlemen, to dine with him. The afternoon was spent with the utmost cordiality, to the Bishop's great satisfaction. The wars of the French, but too successful, rendered it dangerous to send students abroad. Bishop Chisholm, in the meantime, directed their studies, so that as little harm as possible should be caused by the delay. The letter is dated August 17th, 1694.

When at Scalán the Bishop had the honour of a visit from His Grace the Duke of Gordon and Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels. On the following day Bishop Chisholm arrived from the Highlands, and was introduced to the potentate of the North. From Scalán the two Bishops proceeded to Gibston, where they held the annual meeting. The greatest harmony prevailed. Bishop Hay left the choice of a new Procurator entirely to the administrators of the

mission funds, having first laid before them the circumstances which, he thought, ought to determine them. He then withdrew, lest his presence should be a restraint on their deliberations, and left them to proceed with their election. They agreed unanimously to ask him to retain the office for three years longer. He had already declared, both publicly and privately, that he would perform no more the trying duties of the procuratorship. This resolution, however, was changed by the unanimous request of the administrators that he would accept the charge for another period on certain conditions.

Some time was now devoted to the preparation of the usual letters to Rome, to Propaganda, the Cardinals Albani, Carrafazajetto and Zalaga, the Secretary of State. In all these letters there was an account of the affairs of the Scotch mission. The letter to Propaganda consisted of a general statement, describing the journeys, receptions and health of each of the Bishops during the past year; and not omitting the losses sustained by the mission in France and elsewhere. The letter to Cardinal Zalada gave the most details, as he was more a stranger to the mission affairs, and estimated the number of Catholics in Scotland at 45,000.

After the meeting, Bishops Hay and Chisholm repaired by way of the Enzie to Aberdeen, where

the letters to Rome were signed by all the three Bishops. Bishop Hay was very desirous, on the occasion, to see his invalid coadjutor, as appearances indicated but too plainly that it might be the last time. Bishop Chisholm was much affected. "It was a moving sight," he said, "to see the helpless invalid in the condition to which he was reduced. But his mind was as vigorous as ever."

Yielding so far to the representations of the Bishops, through the wise management of the agent, an American priest of high character was appointed confessor to the students and director of their studies. This was done notwithstanding the opposition of the Rector and his Prefect. Propaganda, at the same time, assigned two places in their College to Scotch students, and undertook to pay the travelling expenses of young priests ordained for Scotland when their relations were too poor to pay for them. More than this was desirable ; but the Scotch Bishops were satisfied, in the meantime, by having obtained so much.

The Glasgow mission, as yet in its commencement, was in danger of losing ground by the appointment of Mr. McDonell, to the chaplaincy of the Glengarry regiment. His new office, however, was of such importance that the Bishop could not refuse to let him accept it. Mr. Farquarson was taken from his

superintendence of the students at Aberdeen and appointed to the vacant charge.

At last there was a reconciliation of the two families of Guelph and Stewart. Prince Augustus, of the former line, was spending the summer at Grotta Ferrata, and often had occasion to meet Cardinal York. He never met him but he caused his phaeton to stop and stood with his hat in his hand till the Cardinal was passed. This repeated attention produced the effect which the Prince desired. Latterly, the Cardinal ordered his carriage to stop too, and kindly enquired after the Prince's health, expressing at the same time, his affection towards him and his friends, and how much he wished to be on the most intimate terms with *His Royal Highness*, his dear cousin. He hoped also that political disputes between their families would not now, any longer, give umbrage. The Prince was so much struck with this very friendly and unexpected show of kindness on the part of the Cardinal that he could not find words to express his feeling; but only repeated three times, *I thank your Royal Highness*. On the following day he made amends for this, and walked with the Cardinal for more than two hours. He afterwards dined with him and sought his conversation every evening. The Cardinal was delighted with the amiable qualifications of the Prince.

Bishop Geddes was still capable of extraordinary literary activity. Besides collecting what he could relating to the history of religion in Scotland, and in addition to his "Life of St. Margaret," which his nephew, Mr. Gordon, had printed at his own risk, he had lately composed a pastoral letter in Latin, addressed to the Scotch missionaries. A hundred copies of this letter were printed. He flattered himself that his contributions to the Encyclopedia might do good to religion, inasmuch as they afforded an opportunity of representing the true state of things. It had a circulation of 6000 copies, which found their way to all parts of the world. He had also finished the lives of Boscovich and Stay, together with a new life of the admirable Creighton. All of these were soon to appear in the supplement to the Encyclopedia. After mentioning these contributions, in a letter to him, Dr. Gleig said : "I read with much pleasure the account you gave me of your head and heart. Long may they continue sound ; and that you may have as little pain as possible, in this world, and, when the Father of mercies shall be pleased to remove you to a better, that your departure may be easy and happy, is the sincere prayer of, Right Reverend and dear sir, your most respectful, humble servant.

GEORGE GLEIG."

It was an additional consolation to the invalid to receive a most kind letter from George Chalmers, giving him an account of many literary undertakings and projects in connection with the antiquities of Scotland and his share in them, expressing, at the same time, his warm interest in the restoration of the invalid Bishop's health.

Pecuniary embarrassment added, in no slight degree, to the patient's sufferings. The arrears due him in Spain were only in part recovered, and his debt amounted to £900. This was an evil, however, that could be removed; and Bishop Hay promptly adopted measures for its removal. He took all the debt upon himself, together with the management of whatever income the invalid possessed; and after making a reasonable allowance for maintenance, devoted the remainder to the payment of debt. Mr. McPherson, also lent his aid, and succeeded in obtaining an addition to the Bishop's income of seventy-two crowns yearly. Sir Thomas Durham had left to Propaganda, about the middle of the seventeenth century, 2,000 crowns for the support of Protestant clergymen who might become Catholics. As there were but few such conversions, the fund had been applied latterly to more general purposes. A person having died who enjoyed a pension accruing from this fund, the ever mindful agent, chiefly

through the influence of Cardinal Albani, secured it for Bishop Geddes; and, after his debts were paid to the Seminaries in Scotland. Bishop Geddes was very grateful to all concerned in this business, not forgetting Cardinal Albani, whom he specially thanked.

Among the many literary occupations which engaged the attention of Bishop Geddes, his tract on duelling was not forgotten. A copy of it together with the life of St. Margaret was sent to the office of the Encyclopedia, addressed to Dr. Gleig. Bishop Hay was much impressed on reading the biography of Boscovich. "Poor man!" he said, "how I was affected with the account of his latter days. Mr. George Maxwell was no less so." Bishop Geddes' friends at Edinburgh never ceased to enquire for him. Among these were the Lord Advocate and Lord Monboddo. Mrs. Maxwell, of Kirkconnell, showed her interest by sending a bottle of the tincture of lavender, which was said to be good for paralytic affections. Needless to say it had no more effect than the kind enquiries of many friends.

The loss of the foreign Collegies rendered it necessary that the Bishops should direct their attention towards enlarging the Seminaries at home. It happened at the time that a very eligible property in the Enzie, near Gordon Castle, was for sale. The

purchase had many advocates, especially Bishop Geddes. Bishop Hay dreaded the expense which it would entail. Finally, after a great deal of serious discussion, the idea of purchasing was abandoned. It would, no doubt, have been highly advantageous to have a College in such a choice locality. The vicinity of the dūcal palace would have been a tower of strength, for the Dukes of Gordon, although now Protestant, inherited the ancestral will to befriend the Catholics. Duke Alexander, at that time head of the ancient House, showed his mind on the subject in a very decided and public manner. One day, at a county meeting, there arose a discussion as to the loyal dispositions of various denominations, when His Grace of Gordon, confidently said that, after a thorough examination of matters, *he would take it on himself to answer for the Roman Catholics to a man.* It was also a great recommendation of the property proposed that the majority of the surrounding population was Catholic. There was only one objection to so eligible a site for a Catholic college, the pecuniary difficulty which it would occasion.

At the commencement of 1795 there was some discussion on the subject of public prayers for the King and Royal Family. Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, had the introduction of such prayers much at heart; and, at his earnest request, Bishop Geddes proposed

the practice to Bishop Hay. The latter was opposed to making it obligatory on the clergy ; but would willingly suggest it, and leave it to them to adopt it if they chose. In Galloway the practice had become general. At Edinburgh, also, it had been begun. If Aberdeen followed these examples, the custom would, no doubt, spread in the North. As an encouragement the Bishop suggested a form of prayer which might be adopted. After mentioning the Church, her pastors and the welfare of religion, he proposed that the following words should be used : "Let us also recommend to the mercy of Almighty God, our Sovereign, King George, Charlotte, our Queen, and all the Royal Family, with all our civil magistrates and rulers under whom we live ; that our good Lord may direct them in all their ways, to what is most for His glory, the good of their own souls and the establishment of His holy religion amongst us."

CAP. LIII.

BISHOP GEDDES CONTINUES HIS LITERARY LABOURS—

MR. HIPPLISLEY AND NATIONAL SUPERIORS—BISHOP

GEDDES A PEACE MAKER—ARRIVALS FROM SPAIN—

ORDINATIONS—BISHOP HAY INJURED BY A HORSE

—MR. ALEXANDER INNES IMPRISONED—HOSTILE

PREJUDICE DIMINISHING AT GLASGOW—BISHOP

GEDDES TENDERLY CARED FOR—PECUNIARY DIFFI-

CULTY AT GLASGOW—BISHOP HAY ABUSED—BISHOP

GEDDES MAKES PEACE—HIGH OPINION OF MISSION

AT ROME—PURPOSE TO HAVE A LARGER SEMINARY

AT HOME—A COADJUTOR DESIRED—ALEXANDER

CAMERON DIGNISSIMUS—THE SAME CHOSEN—THE

ARMY LIBERAL—LIFE OF ST. MARGARET TO THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES—CLAIM OF THE BISHOPS

FOR THE COLLEGE PROPERTIES IN FRANCE—THEY

SEEK ADDITIONAL REPEAL OF THE PENAL LAWS—

REPRINT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—LIBERALITY OF

SIR JOHN LAWSON, "THE FLOWER OF THE ENGLISH
CATHOLIC GENTRY."

Bishop Geddes was still able to continue his literary labours, and with his wonted activity. Dr. Gleig alone kept him busy, and at work of the most agreeable kind. This indefatigable writer had just pre-

pared an article on Purgatory, founding on "The Papist Misrepresented and Represented." In this essay the learned doctor showed that the doctrine was perfectly harmless and not peculiar to the Church of Rome. There appeared in a former edition of the Encyclopedia an account of Purgatory which he considered very absurd. But the doctrine he thought, when fairly stated, was exceedingly reasonable. He requested that the Bishop would write for him a short paper on canonization under the word saint, or to refer him to a good and fair account of it, such as he remembered having seen in Bishop Hay's *Scripture Doctrine of Miracles*. Dr. Gleig, moreover, consulted the Bishop in regard to the Roman Catholic view of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, which he proposed inserting under the word, transubstantiation, or the Lord's Supper. It must be owned that the non-juror's edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica freely opened its pages, with most exemplary impartiality, to a fair statement on both sides of every vexed question.

We now find diplomacy at work. Mr. Hippisley, as powerful at Rome as ever, applied with his wonted energy, to the apparently hopeless task of obtaining national superiors for the British Colleges. Mr. McPherson, as representing the Scotch Bishops, cordially seconded his endeavours. What may be called

an accident, held out for some time a prospect of success. Serious disturbance occurred in the Irish College, consequent upon the misrule of its Italian masters. The students appealed to Mr. Hippisley. The diplomatist promptly took up their cause, and addressed Cardinal Livizani, the protector of the Irish. The Cardinal replied in polite terms, but not to the satisfaction of Mr. Hippisley, who, in turn, expressed his regret that his arguments had not weighed with his Eminence, adding, moreover, that "he trusted to the wisdom and justice of the venerable Sovereign whose moderation, sweetness and goodness have gained for him so much glory, and won all hearts." The British envoy lost no time in carrying the case to the Pope, pleading earnestly for Irish superiors to the College, and for justice to the students. He also addressed to Cardinal Albani, Dean of the College of Cardinals, a letter in which much kindness of heart was mingled with the politician's instinctive love of negotiation and diplomacy. The vigorous appeals of Mr. Hippisley, meanwhile, backed by his threats of asking his own Government to interfere, gave, at last, a fair prospect of success to the cause for which the Bishop had been so long contending. The death of Campanelli, the English protector, destroyed this prospect. Albani and others concerned in the matter condemned the

proposal to make any change. The support of Cardinal Antonelli at Propaganda was lost to the advocates of national superiors by his resignation, at the time, in consequence of his increasing infirmities. His successor, Cardinal Gerdil, although good and able, was too aged and too little acquainted with Scotch affairs efficiently to replace him. The English College, notwithstanding, obtained a sort of promise that a national superior would be appointed at the next vacancy.

Some difference having arisen between the two priests at Aberdeen and Bishop Hay, the mistrust entertained by the latter was done away with by the peace-loving Bishop Geddes, who assured the senior Bishop that there were no two clergymen in the country who had his welfare more at heart. It was a source of consolation to Bishop Geddes to contribute towards peace and unanimity.

This year (1795) Mr. Rattray and Mr. John Sharp, so favourably known afterwards in the missions, were expected from Spain ; and the same year Mr. Andrew Carruthers and Mr. Andrew Scott, both, at a later date, Bishops, the former at Edinburgh and the latter at Glasgow, were ordained priests by Bishop Hay at Aberdeen. Mr. Charles Gordon, destined to be for many years the popular priest of Aberdeen, and who at the time wanted two or three months of

the age required for priests' orders, was on the same occasion promoted to the rank of deacon. The day after the ordination the Bishop conducted Mr. Scott to the mission of Deeside, for which he was destined, and introduced him to the congregation. The Bishop on returning happened to pass a man who was leading a young horse, and at the moment the Bishop was passing the animal turned suddenly round and kicked him on the shin. The blow was at first very painful; but he thought nothing of it till he reached Aberdeen, when it was found to be so bad as to oblige him to keep his room for several weeks. He was thus prevented from giving any assistance with the duties of Easter-tide.

During the reign of terror in France, considerable anxiety was caused to the Bishops by the imprisonment of Mr. Alexander Innes, who had been temporarily appointed Principal of the Scotch College at Paris. When some kind of order was restored, however, he was set at liberty.

Mr. Farquarson, lately appointed to Glasgow, as successor to Mr. Alexander McDonell, gave at this time a very favourable account of the mission there. In a letter to his friend, Mr. McPherson, he stated that he had been ten days on duty in the western city. There was no lack of work; everything was quiet and prejudice was wearing off. Andrew Car-

ruthers, recently ordained, was to be his neighbour in the mission of Drummond. There was an emigrant French priest at Glasgow, one at Dundee, one at St. Andrews, and two at Edinburgh, besides several in Galloway. They all hoped soon, on the conclusion of peace, to return to their own country. Bishop Hay, Mr. Farquarson adds, was about to repair to the North and spend the summer there. He was heartily tired of managing the pecuniary business of the mission, there being a deficit which he knew not how to make up in consequence of some losses, the late increase of missionaries and bank stock calls. He intended in three or four years to retire from office giving up all concern with the mission's money concerns. But, who would condescend, after him, to undertake the charge? In the same letter Mr. Farquarson says that Bishop Geddes could not be better cared for. His nephews are all attention to him, especially, the younger of them, Mr. Chas. Gordon. One of them is constantly, day and night, beside him. Bishop Hay forwards or orders for him whatever is thought beneficial. He is greatly and almost constantly pained all over his joints, legs, thighs and arms. In a short time he will not be able to get the spoon to his mouth. His head and trunk of body are still sound. His intellectual faculties are better than ever. His

appetite is rather too keen ; and he is becoming bulky and astonishingly weighty. He dictates commonly, an hour, every day, either for the Encyclopedia or the history of our missions. He is always in good humour and deems himself, in all respects, extremely happy, yet longs for death. His wishes, I assure him, being contrary to those of all others, will not be heard for some years.

The ardour of Mr. Farquarson's predecessor had carried him a little too far when at Glasgow. There were embarrassing pecuniary difficulties ; and the congregation were in danger of losing their church for arrears of rent. It was finally agreed that the rent should be reduced to £30 instead of £40. It was also decided to ask the congregation to pay this lesser sum and the rent of the priest's house, but nothing else.

It cannot but be recorded with deep regret that some of the clergy should have thought proper to speak harshly and even abusively of the venerable Bishop. That so eccentric an individual as Mr. Charles Maxwell should have done so is little to be wondered at. He appears to have been connected with a little club of censors, and signed himself K. G. K. (Knight of the Gordian Knot.) He was known among his more intimate associates as "*Sir Ned.*" He wrote letters to Mr. MacPherson filled

with bitter reproaches against Bishop Hay, his arbitrary measures and his overbearing temper. This Maxwell, Mr. MacPherson and Mr. Farquarson joined with a few others in censuring, and not unfrequently maligning among themselves everything that Bishop Hay undertook, all of them, however, acknowledging that his intentions were good and honest. Bishop Geddes listened to their complaints; and sometimes communicated them to the senior Bishop. But on all such occasions he strenuously laboured to maintain peace, or, at least, outward harmony. In this he was admirably successful, insomuch that the absence of public disputes among the Scotch clergy was mentioned as one of the reasons why their little church stood so high in public opinion at Rome, and so favourably contrasted with the noisy disputes which from time to time distracted the English clerical body.

The annual letter to Rome this year (1795) was dated from Aberdeen. In a letter to the Holy Father, the Bishops informed him of their purpose to establish a larger seminary at home, in order to supply for their losses in France.

In October, Bishop Hay consulted the agent at Rome, Mr. McPherson, on the subject of a coadjutor. In his reply, the agent recommended Mr. Farquarson, an ex-administrator, as a man, he humbly

thought, in whom nothing was wanting to fit him for so important an office. It might be, he added, that his judgment was somewhat influenced by the sincere friendship and affection he had always entertained for the late rector of Douai College ; but, he must candidly own, at the same time, that, if he were called upon to name another for the position, he should be quite at a loss. Meanwhile, the increasing illness of Bishop Geddes was rendering the question of the coadjutorship every day more pressing. In July, 1797, Bishop Hay was with his coadjutor at Aberdeen, and thence despatched letters to Propaganda on the necessity of appointing a coadjutor. He wrote, at length of the state of incapacity to which long illness had reduced Bishop Geddes, and the infirmities which age, hard and incessant labour, together with constitutional head-aches, had brought upon himself. His memory in particular, he said, was much decayed, as he found to his inconvenience when anything occurred requiring fixed attention and recollection of the past. He, in consequence, entreated the congregation of Propaganda to grant him another coadjutor, and proposed, as was the custom, three persons, as fit for the office. First was named, *dignissimus*, Alexander Cameron, rector of the Scotch College of Valladolid, whose abilities and character stood very high in the estimation of

all who knew him. The second, *dignior*, was Mr. John Gordon, vice-rector of the same College, and a man of exemplary piety and of such reputation for learning as to be commonly known at Valladolid as an oracle of theological science. The third, *dignus* was Mr. Donald Stewart, an excellent and meritorious missionary priest. The persons named had been all educated at Rome; and this, as Bishop Hay well judged, was no slight recommendation. The application was received at Rome at a time that was very unfavourable to the rapid despatch which Bishop Hay so much desired. The months of September and October were then, and are still, considered by the Romans as vacation time, on which no kind of business should intrude. All who had the means, retired to the country. The Scotch agent, notwithstanding, was so much in favour with the authorities at Propaganda, that they consented to have the matter promptly despatched, without waiting for a meeting of the congregation, *or audiencia S. S. mi.* There was a marked inclination to name Mr. John Gordon, so much were the Cardinals moved by the splendid character given to him by the Bishops. The agent, however, holding out for the selection made by the Bishops, the choice fell on Mr. Alexander Cameron, who then became Vicar-Apostolic of the

Lowland district of Scotland, with the title of Bishop of Maximianopolis, I. P. I.

It may now be placed on record, as showing the greater liberality with which our soldiers were treated, that the commandant of a fencible regiment gave orders that the men should attend the churches of their respective denominations. The Saturday after their arrival at Dundee he addressed them in the following terms: "You that are Roman Catholics divide, and stand at my right; you of the Church of England on my left; and let the Presbyterians remain where they are. You Roman Catholics will go to-morrow to the Seagate where the Roman Catholic priest, Mr. Pepper, lives; you of the Church of England to the English chapel; you of the Church of Scotland, to the Kirk. But see you go, all of you, from the parade ground, in rank and file, with a drummer and fifer at the head of each division." The name of the officer who thus acted was Colonel Baillie.

Bishop Geddes, at this time, December 1795, wrote at some length to Bishop Hay notwithstanding the increased severity of his ailment. Among other things, he requested that the Bishop would send his "Life of St. Margaret" to the Society of Antiquaries. The signature, the only part of the letter in his own hand writing, is weak and unsteady, still, however, retaining much of the character of his old style.

As the English Bishops had applied for restitution through the British Government of their properties at Paris and Douai, with the best hopes of success in the event of peace being concluded between the two countries, there was no reason why the Bishops in Scotland should not make a similar application. The Lord Advocate and Mr. Henry Dundas, whom they first addressed on the subject, returned a very favourable answer and promised to keep their application in mind when the proper time came. They also memorialized Mr. Brodie, M. P., on the subject of their losses which they estimated at 30,000 livres of annual income. They, at the same time, directed the attention of this gentleman to another grievance for which they sought redress. Their fellow-Catholics in England, according to the recent Act, repealing so far the penal laws, were now free to erect seminaries at home for the education of youth. By some oversight, however, in the Scotch Act, the clause which was intended to prohibit them from educating the children of Protestant parents, was so worded as to amount to a prohibition against their educating their own children.

For some years there had been a great demand among the Catholics of Scotland for copies of the Scriptures, particularly the New Testament, in English. So far back as 1790 Bishop Geddes spoke

of this matter to Bishop Hay on which occasion the Bishop suggested that Dr. Challoner's New Testament, at least, should be reprinted. To meet the expenses of such a reprint, Sir John Lawson, of Brough, whom Bishop Geddes described as *the flower of the English Catholic gentry*, offered to subscribe £50 on condition of Bishop Geddes superintending it. Mr. Robertson, a Benedictine priest of Ratisbon, would willingly undertake the editorial drudgery. Bishop Hay was satisfied that a great demand for the English Scriptures had existed for eight or ten years previously. In 1782 he had consulted Chalmers, the Aberdeen printer, about a reprint. Chalmers, after a few days' consideration, offered to reprint for £250 an edition of the whole Bible in every respect similar to the London edition, so that the four volumes of the Old Testament might be sold at 5s. bound. The Bishop was well pleased with the coadjutor's proposal to have a reprint, but his financial condition would not allow him to advance any money. With the aid of Sir John Lawson's subscription, however, Bishop Geddes was enabled to commence the work of reprinting the New Testament. He was resolved that the type, paper and binding, should be good, as everything connected with religion ought to be; and he hoped to see it sold at 2s. It was his intention to follow Bishop

Challoner's edition with as few alterations as possible. Bishop Hay was particularly averse to changes, whether in the text or in the notes. People had been long accustomed, he said, to Bishop Challoner's edition, and they might be startled at finding alterations. More than this, Benedict XIV., in his preface to the *Index Expurgatorius*, made honourable mention of the translation. This was some sanction, surely, the Bishop thought, although not a formal document.

CAP. LIV.

PRINTING THE NEW TESTAMENT—NO CHANGE OF MEANING—3000 COPIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT—BISHOP DOUGLAS AND OTHER ENGLISH CATHOLICS SUBSCRIBE—THE COUNT D'ARTOIS AT EDINBURGH—MISSION FUNDS HELD IN TRUST BY BISHOP CHISHOLM, SOME PRIESTS AND TWO LAYMEN—BONAPARTE AT THE GATES OF ROME—AN ARMISTICE—PEACE ON HARD CONDITIONS—PRINCE AUGUSTUS—HIS LOVE FOR THE SCOTCH MISSION—PROVIDING FOR THE SAFETY OF THE POPE DURING THE PANIC—IN 1797, BISHOP GEDDES WORSE—BISHOP HAY'S CONCERN—AQUORTIES LEASED FOR A COLLEGE—A HOUSE FOR 30 STUDENTS BUILT—SUPERSEDED BY BLAIRS—ITS CONDITION IN 1835—NOW ALMOST A SOLITUDE—ABERDEEN-SHIRE FRIENDLY—IN 1797, THE FRENCH ONCE MORE APPROACHING ROME—FLIGHT THE ONLY HOPE—THE POPE'S HORSES IN HIS COACH WHEN A BRITISH OFFICER CAME TO ANNOUNCE THAT THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE DANGER—IMPORTANT ANNUAL MEETING AT GIBSTON—BISHOP HAY VINDICATED—STATE OF THE MISSION FUNDS—THE CONGREGATIONS URGED TO ASSIST THEIR PASTORS—COADJUTOR APPLIED FOR—SEMINARY FOR THE HIGHLANDS—PAINFUL CONDITION OF BISHOP GEDDES—SECOND SIGHT.

By October, 1790, Bishop Geddes and Mr. Robertson had fairly begun to print the New Testament. The Greek and Vulgate versions, three English Catholic translations, King James' and the Italian version of Martini, which had been commended by the Pope, were all before them. They were so sparing in making alterations, that in the whole Gospel of St. Matthew, which they had gone through, they had not changed the meaning of one word. Some expressions, indeed, they had changed. Bishop Challoner had done the same in every one of his three editions. It does not appear that the work of reprinting was continued ; nor are we informed as to the amount of work that was done. Nothing practical was accomplished, apparently, till the year 1796, when Bishop Hay, in concurrence with others, bargained with John Moir, a printer at Edinburgh, for an edition of 3,000 copies of the Old Testament in four volumes. The total expense, including paper and binding, was £740. Bishop Gibson subscribed for upwards of 1,000 copies in sheets, Bishop Douglas for 600, Mr. Thomas Eyre at Crookhall, for 100, and Coghlan, the bookseller, for 100. Moir printed a like edition of the New Testament at £197. The two English Bishops took 1,350 copies, Mr. Eyre, 100, and Coghlan, 100. The selling price of the Old Testament bound, was 12s. ; that of the New, to non-

subscribers, three shillings. The work was undertaken and paid for by subscription. Half of the price was to be paid on delivery of the second volume. By this means alone money was obtained for printing the remaining volumes. Payments to workmen and for paper required to be made regularly. Neither the Bishop nor Mr. Moir had capital to advance for that purpose. The former, nevertheless, was under the necessity of advancing upwards of £80 in order to complete the work. The Bishop remained in Edinburgh the greater part of the summer, superintending the press.

Early this year, the exiled Count D'Artois came to Edinburgh. He was most hospitably received; and apartments were fitted up for him in the Palace of Holyrood. It was his intention to remain there, until it should be possible for him to return to France, as heir to the Crown. Bishop Hay was introduced to him by his chaplain and was graciously received.

The Bank of Scotland making a call on its shareholders, at this time it became necessary that Bishop Hay should pay to the bank as much as £1800. This would oblige him, he said, to live, at least six years, with the greatest economy. Bishop Geddes had great doubts as to the expediency of lodging so much money in the bank in one name. It was a subject he thought, for deliberation and advice,

on account of the umbrage it might give to some ill-inclined persons, that Bishop Hay should have so large a sum of money in the bank, both on account of the inconvenience of transferring so much property in case of the Bishop's death, and of the temptation it presented to his relations in the event of any informality or error in his possession. Inquiry, even, in such a matter would be disagreeable.

As soon, accordingly, as Bishop Hay could proceed to the North after attending to the printing of the Scriptures, the two Bishops executed a trust deed of all their properties in favour of Bishop Chisholm, of some of the clergy and two lay gentlewen whom they empowered in the event of their decease without successors to hold in trust all the monies standing in their names, for the interests of the mission.

At this time, Rome was panic-struck by the approach of a French army under Bonaparte. It had taken Bologna, and was marching in three columns by different routes, against the City of the Popes. The Roman army was quite unable to make head against this formidable force, being only 3,000 in number, and consisting chiefly of the most undisciplined soldiers that could be imagined. Two-thirds of them were French emigrants, Italian deserters and the refuse of other nations. Diplomacy was at work ; but, meanwhile, the fear of the French

soldiery prevailed. The Scotch agent, writing to the Bishop, says: "Such noise and confusion there was in town, such dejection and despair surpasses all conception; not a house but resounded with the cries of women and children; not a countenance but expressed terror and dismay, many entirely lost their judgments, and parents attempted to make away with their daughters by a violent death to preserve them from insult. If the courier who came to announce an armistice had delayed for twenty-four hours more, scenes would have happened here that would have equalled anything that is barbarous in history, and it is too probable that this day Rome would be a mass of ruins. Glory to God the danger is over, and I trust there is no fear it will recur. We have made an armistice; and a plenipotentiary is despatched to Paris in order to conclude a peace. The conditions are dreadful and humiliating to the last degree. We have ourselves to blame for them."

Before the courier arrived the more religious people betook themselves to prayer. Their miserable army gave them no hope; and the terror inspired by the enemy that was so near their gates, was greater than would be caused by a horde of the worst barbarians. Every street was crowded with penitential processions at all hours of the day, and even the night. Prince Augustus had not left Italy.

During the panic he advised the Scotch agent to fly with his young charge. As for himself he declared that as long as there was any chance of his being of service to the Scotch mission, in Rome, he neither could nor would fly. Mr. McPherson, the Scotch agent, has made arrangements for sending his students to Naples or Tuscany. The Irish agent had disappeared. Mr. Smelt, the English agent, was resolved to seek safety in Naples. The Cardinals also determined on taking refuge in the kingdom of Naples, carrying the Holy Father along with them ; for they were convinced that if he fell into the hands of the French they would certainly convey him to Paris, where every bad consequence, both as regarded his safety and the welfare of religion, was to be dreaded.

In January, 1797, Bishop Geddes became suddenly worse. Bishop Hay set out, at once, to close, as he believed, the eyes of his friend, and coadjutor. The invalid, however, rallied, once more ; and the Bishop continued his journey to Fetternear in order to confer with Mr. Leslie, the proprietor, on the lease of a farm for the seminary. An amicable arrangement was speedily made. The Bishop obtained a lease of the farm of Aquorties on the banks of the River Don, two miles from the House of Fetternear and three from the town of Inverurie, for 107 years.

The farm consisted of 200 acres of arable land and 400 of hill and moor. The rent was £120, or £90 yearly, £500 being paid on taking possession. It was resolved to commence immediately the building of a house for the seminary, and at the same time the requisite farm offices. It was an arduous and costly enterprise. Hence it was necessary to solicit subscriptions. The congregation of Propaganda was first applied to ; but, owing to the distracted state of Italy, could give no assistance. The Government was appealed to in favour of the work through Sir John Hippisley. The Catholics of the Lowlands subscribed more largely than could have been expected. Mr. Bagnal, the young priest of Kirkconnell, obtained from his congregation alone more than £80. Edinburgh subscribed £120. Aberdeen and the neighbouring country the same amount. Other missions contributed in proportion. The house, not including out buildings, cost £1,000 ; not a large sum, considering that it was calculated to accommodate thirty students, together with the requisite number of masters and servants.

It was still occupied by the mission when the writer visited the place, the year of his ordination, 1835. The late Rev. James Sharp was at that time in charge of both the farm and the congregation. A later visitor found it, when in the hands of a stranger,

quite undivested of its college-like appearance. The building is of solid granite, three stories high, with an attic, eighty feet in length by twenty-two in width. It faces the South, and the River Don in all its beauty is seen from the front windows. Its pleasure garden, although not large, is finely ornamented with shrubberies and a small pond. It is surrounded by a formal belt of trees and presents a fair specimen of the landscape gardening of the period. At the western end of the building is the chapel, about twenty feet by fourteen, and rising to the height of the second story. An outside door admitted the congregation. There are galleries at the sides and each end of the chapel. In that which faces the altar there were seats for the Fetternear family and a few people besides. In another gallery on the epistle side of the altar, communicating with the school-room, the students had their seats. The altar and altar rails were still preserved as they had been originally, the worthy tenant, acting on the impression that a place once dedicated to divine worship should not be subjected to meaner uses. The Corinthian pillars above the altar still supported a canopy. The space on the floor of the chapel had been for the service of the congregation. At the back of the house there is a large and fruitful kitchen-garden. It was first set apart by the Bishop and cultivated

according to his directions. It is still kept in the highest order. The Bishop had a room in the house to which he resorted in his declining years ; and in this room he departed to the better world. The place, hallowed by so many interesting associations, is now comparatively a solitude ; and in thinking of what it was and what it is, one is reminded of the lines of Rogers :

“ Mute is the bell that rung at peep of dawn,
Quickening my truant feet across the lawn ;
Unheard the shout that rent the noontide air,
When the slow dial gave a pause to care.
Up springs at every step to claim a tear,
Some little friendship formed and cherished here ;
And not the lightest leaf but trembling teems
With golden visions and romantic dreams.”

Sir John Hippisley, who was now residing at Warfield Grove, Berks, took a warm interest in the new seminary. As much aid was required in establishing it, and the Bishops contemplated applying to the Government, Sir John advised that they should address Mr. Dundas and, through him, the Duke of Portland. The worthy Baronet himself also undertook to recommend the matter to Government, and for this purpose desired to have a statement of the least possible expense that would be required to commence the seminary. The assistance of the English Catholics might also be requested.

It was now admitted that a long lease, such as the Bishop had obtained, was preferable to a purchase

of property, so little could the Catholics, as yet, rely on the better feeling towards them that had come to prevail in the country. It was, indeed, a disadvantage that there were but few Catholics in the neighbourhood of Aquorties. But such disadvantage was counterbalanced by the fortunate circumstance that the Protestant population of Aberdeenshire were more friendly to Catholics than that of any other part of the country. The agent at Rome did all in his power to interest in the cause of the new seminary the Cardinals Gerdil, Albani and Antonelli. They favoured it with their approbation ; but, in the uncertain state of affairs in Italy, they did nothing more.

In February, 1797, the French were once more at the gates of Rome. There was the greatest consternation in the city. It behoved the Scotch agent to provide for the safety of the students. Acting under the directions of the Cardinal Protector, he secured the ready money and church plate of the college and made arrangements for the departure of the few students there and of fifteen English students whom their agent had left to do as they best could. He was much assisted by Mr. Graves, an English merchant at Rome. Passports and everything else that was required, being procured, the party left Rome for Civita Vecchia on 12th February. Mr.

Sloane, a Scotch merchant there, was all attention to them. The day before their departure eleven Cardinals fled from Rome. The Pope's horses were in his coach, and he was himself dressed for flight, when a British officer, Colonel Duncan, arrived at the Vatican from Florence, and gave information to the effect that the danger was not so imminent. The Holy Father shed tears when he found that it was not necessary to leave his capital so suddenly. In the course of a fortnight the British students came back to their colleges. The agent was not, as yet, however, without apprehension ; but he gave way to importunity.

The annual meeting was held this year at Gibston, near Huntly. Bishops Hay and Chisholm met there in the month of August, the administrators of the mission funds. It was an important meeting. Bishop Hay thereat adopted measures that effectually put a stop to the reports injurious to his character as an honest manager of the mission affairs, which were afloat ever since the last meeting of administrators which was held three years previously. Regarding the partial appropriation of a legacy to a special purpose, his opponents had accused him of acting without the advice or concurrence of the administrators, and of endeavouring to force them, in an overbearing manner, to do as seemed to him fit in the matter.

The second question concerned an extraordinary supply voted for division among the clergy. The Bishop had been accused of arbitrarily excluding some of them from the benefit of this supply, contrary to the known intentions of the administrators. In order to meet these accusations, the Bishop laid before the meeting a detailed statement of all that occurred at the former meeting and extracted therefrom a number of queries to which he requested categorical replies. This request was complied with; and the replies, completely clearing the Bishop of all that had been alleged against him, were written down by Mr. John Reid, clerk to the meeting, and signed by all the administrators present. Thus were the ill-judged and unfounded misrepresentations of Mr. Farquarson and a few others who thought themselves aggrieved by the Bishop, completely, publicly, and finally refuted. At the same meeting Bishop Hay resigned the office of procurator, Mr. Charles Maxwell succeeding. Mr. Maxwell, in consequence, removed from his mission at Huntly to Edinburgh. The income of the mission was much reduced by the complete failure of its funds in France and a great falling off in the remittances that usually came from Rome. Four hundred and nineteen pounds yearly, was all that could be relied on while the expenditure for *quotas*, that is the allowances to

the priests alone, amounted to more than £550. The guardians of the fund, therefore, were under the painful necessity of issuing a circular letter informing their brethren why they were compelled to reduce the quotas to £15 for the large towns and £10 for country missions.

Hitherto the Catholic laity had not considered it a duty to contribute towards the support of their pastors. They were now addressed on the subject in a document signed by the Bishops and appended to the letter which conveyed to the clergy the unwelcome tidings that their miserable salaries must be reduced. The people were shown that there is high authority for requiring that they should contribute towards the maintenance of their clergy. They were told, moreover, that unless they made an effort in this direction, all pastoral ministrations must necessarily cease.

The usual letters to Rome were signed later by Bishop Geddes at Aberdeen. In these letters the Bishops renewed their request for a coadjutor in the Lowland District (a request which, as has already been shown, was complied with), and informed the Cardinals that it was the intention of the Bishop of the Highland District to establish ere long, at home, a seminary, similar to that which had been already so auspiciously begun by his brother Bishop of the Lowlands. It was also intimated that Bishop

Geddes had nearly lost his speech, that his appetite was gone, and that, from time to time, he was attacked with such violent internal pain as to make it difficult to believe that he could live an hour. His patience, meanwhile, was most exemplary.

The meeting once over, a new matter, on which the reader will be glad to have the opinion of the Bishops, came up for consideration. It was quite natural that Bishop Chisholm should be applied to for information on the subject of second sight, which was more prevalent in the Highlands than in any other part of Scotland. The agent at Rome, Mr. McPherson, requested of him answers to certain queries, and with such answers the Bishop readily supplied him. In a letter of 19th August, 1797 Bishop Chisholm wrote :

"1st. It is my own private opinion that such a thing has existed and does now exist, though less frequently than in former times. Many are fully convinced of the real existence of the 'second sight;' but, many likewise, look upon it as a chimera. But you will observe that many are incredulous in matters of greater consequence, and many know nothing about the matter, and many are ashamed to acknowledge their belief on this head, as the belief of the second sight is not fashionable.

"2nd. There are treatises written on the second sight.

"3. Some families are more famous for the second sight than others ; such is the family of McDonald of Morar, though it cannot be said to be confined to any particular family exclusively.

"4th. The nature of it is generally a short and sometimes imperfect representation of what is to happen, does happen, or has happened at a distance beyond the reach of natural knowledge.

"5th. Such as are affected with the second sight, see indiscriminately, happy and unhappy events, but more frequently, events of black and melancholy complexion. They see them before the event takes place, while it takes place, and after it has happened, but at such a distance that it would be impossible to know it so soon in a natural way.

Forbes of Culloden, President of the Court of Session, while employed in checking some of the Highland Chiefs from joining the Prince, was cast by contrary winds into one of the small western isles. He went, as he landed, to a gentleman's house, who had a snug elegant dinner prepared for him and his company on their arrival. "Sir," said the President, astonished at the sight of the entertainment, and understanding the gentleman's fortune could not be great, "May I beg leave to ask if you always live in

this style." "No, my Lord," says the landlord, "that I cannot afford." "And how," replies the President, "did you happen to have such a dinner to-day?" "I knew," said the Islander, that your Lordship was to be here to-day," "Impossible," answers the President, "we only landed just now, and, a little before, we knew nothing about it ourselves." "Why, my Lord, a man who lives by me announced your arrival by describing your Lordship's person, your company, dress, figure, etc., and informing me of the time you would be here to-day, which made me prepare the dinner you see."

A connection of mine, Major Chisholm, son to Chisholm of Chisholm, was one day, as he told me, walking with his father before the door of the latter's castle, when from the castle, a woman, famous for the second sight, rushed out and cried aloud: "God preserve your son, Laird, God preserve your son Roderick, I see him all covered over with blood." In a short time who appeared on an eminence coming home but Roderick supported by two men, and all covered with blood, after a dangerous fall which was only a prelude to the blood he spilt soon after, under the Prince, while he commanded his father's men at Culloden. After receiving a mortal wound, my uncle who was next in command to him, wanted to remove him from the field, and made a motion to

follow him. "No," said he, "command the men lest any of them should leave the ranks."

Bishop Hugh McDonald's servant fainted, one day, at table. When he recovered he was asked the cause: "Why," said he, "I saw a dead child on the table before me." Within a little space the dead body of the child was stretched on that very table. The Bishop told the story.

Bishop John McDonald's nephew, who was bred in England, came to see his friends in the Highlands. While in Morar, among some of his relations, he was, all at once, struck. When asked about it, "I see," answered he, "a person drowned, taken out of the water;" and he described his appearance. In a short time after, the accounts of such a man as he described being drowned and taken out of the water, were received. I knew the man.

A short time before you (Mr. Paul McPherson) went to Rome, (1793), in my vicinity while in Strathglass, a child saw his father, Bailie Hector McKenzie, steward to McKenzie of Seaforth, in the winding sheets. His father called him his little prophet, and soon after, died.

You have now the second sight brought down to your time from Culloden. I could, for the information of their Lordships, give you my opinion relative to the cause of it; I do not mean a natural cause;

but, as this has not been asked, I refer it to another time. Some, in very pompous expressions, have attempted to explain the second sight in a natural way; but their accounts appeared to me most unsatisfactory and absurd. I ever am, my dear sir, unalterably yours,

JOHN CHISHOLM."

CAP. LV.

SECOND SIGHT CONTINUED—ALEX. CAMERON, BISHOP
 —REGARDING A BRITISH RESIDENT AT ROME—
 MISSION OF BALLOCH—THE BISHOP REJECTS UN-
 NECESSARY CHANGES — WOULD HAVE CHURCH
 MUSIC BUT FOR THE TEMPER OF THE TIMES—
 THE MUNSHES PRIEST'S DOCTORS OF DIVINITY—
 BRIGANDAGE OF FRENCH SOLDIERS — PIUS VI.
 HURRIED AWAY FROM ROME—CONVEYED TO VAL-
 ENCE—DIED THERE 29TH AUGUST, 1799, AGED
 81—SCOTCH COLLEGE SEIZED BY FRENCH REPUBLIC
 —REV. P. MACPIHERSON BRINGS STUDENTS SAFELY
 HOME—MR. MACPHERSON HIGHLY HONOURED IN
 LONDON—ASTONISHMENT IN POLITICAL CIRCLES
 —BISHOP HAY JUBILANT.

The question of second sight appears to have been a good deal studied at Rome. One of the Cardinals wrote a treatise on it; and while engaged in collecting facts and materials for this work, Bishop Hay took great pains in supplying him with cases that had occurred, chiefly in the Highlands; and such only as were well authenticated. The Cardinal's object was to show that the *faculty of second sight* originated with the evil spirit. The Bishop held

the same opinion as the Cardinal as to the origin of the *faculty*. Regarding the fact of its existence, there could be no question. There were two instances, particularly, which he was wont to relate, giving the proofs, the names of the parties, places, witnesses, etc. The first of these was that of a man, possessing the *faculty of second sight*, who declared that he saw a child, at the time in apparent health, running about the house, dressed in its grave clothes. In the other case was described circumstantially, the accidental death of a man, at the time of the vision in perfect health.

The Rev. Donald Carmichael combated the Bishop's opinion which ascribed the faculty to the agency of the evil one. How could the devil know such and such future contingencies? The Bishop's reply was that although the devil has no absolute knowledge of the future, he might have seen in the case of the child some indications of internal and mortal disease, not yet apparent to human perception. In the case of the man, the devil might have prepared the accident and made a pretty sure guess as to the event, even though it was no more than a guess or a conjecture. It would be interesting to know what the Bishop thought of the Lord President's case, related above in Bishop Chisholm's letter. Nothing short of *absolute knowledge* of the future which he denies, and which we must all

deny to the evil one, could have enabled him through a seer, to give notice of the President's arrival at the house of the gentleman where he dined so well. If the arrival was brought about by the power of the devil, he must, once at least, have mistaken his vocation when he refrained from wrecking the boat and drowning the learned judge and excellent man, together with his whole company. This would have been more in keeping with the character which Scripture gives to the fiend, who "goes about like a raging lion seeking whom he may devour." (*Sicut leo rugiens, quærens quem devoret.*)

It was arranged that the newly appointed coadjutor should be consecrated in Spain. The first news which he had of his appointment was in a letter from Mr. McPherson that reached him at the same time as an official intimation from Bishop Hay, written at Huntly. The Bishop was kind and complimentary. The agent's letter was also very gratifying, and the more so as Mr. Cameron cherished a warm friendship for the Scotch agent at Rome and all his former associates. Mr. Cameron's promotion caused a vacancy in the Rectorship of the College of Valladolid. The Scotch Bishops, desiring to avail themselves of the privileges granted by a former King of Spain, Charles III., prayed that his successor, Charles IV., continuing the same privileges, would

name to the office one of three whom they proposed. They, at the same time, commended the College to His Majesty's favour.

About this time Sir John Hippisley informed Bishop Hay, that but for the irruption of the French into the Papal States, a British resident at Rome would have been appointed by the British Government. In the actual circumstances, however, there was to be only a Resident on the part of the British Merchants, in the person of Mr. Graves. No assistance had, as yet, been obtained from Government for the Scotch Mission. The worthy Baronet was still watching for an opportunity to forward the matter.

There was some rather warm discussion between Bishops Hay and Chisholm in regard to the Balloch or Drummond Mission, where Mr. Andrew Carruthers was placed. It does not appear to have led to any important result; and hence no details need be given.

Mr. Robertson, the Benedictine friar from Ratisbon, desired the sanction of the Bishop to some unnecessary and inappropriate changes which he had introduced into the services for his small congregation at Munshes. He wished that English prayers, and long ones too, should be enjoined on all congregations before Mass; that the sermon should be delivered in the middle of Mass instead of being always preached before Mass began, as had been

the custom in the Scotch mission from time immemorial, and that there should be music in his chapel. The Bishop patiently reasoned with him on all these points ; and firmly refused to sanction such unnecessary changes. It would be appropriate and edifying to have suitable church music, the Bishop always thought, but the temper of the times must be considered. Mr. Robertson's way of managing his congregation was very peculiar. A set of people called *Elders* formed his council; respecting the poor ; there were lecturers and Psalm readers in the chapel on Sundays, and the council met at the village of Dalbeattie once a week, to discuss points of faith and controversy. At these councils he sometimes presided himself ; if not perhaps Thomas Copeland, John Rigg, (two tenants,) or some such Doctor of Divinity took the chair. Such like practices led to the opinion which came to prevail in the country, that Mr. Robertson's prayers were not like those at Terreagles and Kirkconnell. Mr. John Pepper, the Chaplain at Terreagles, who first gave this information in a letter to Mr. C. Maxwell, expressed the opinion that a hard task was in preparation for Mr. Robertson's successor.

As the occupation of Rome by the French affected the interests of the Scotch Mission, allusion to it here is not out of place. What the Romans dreaded for

some time, fell upon the city with all its terrors. A French General, Duphot, happening to be killed in a riot which he himself excited, no better pretext was required by the Revolutionary Army. It was commanded by General Berthier, and unceremoniously entered and took possession of the city. It acted, however, with what, for such an army may be called moderation. There was neither pillage nor massacre ; and, as long as Berthier commanded, discipline was tolerably well maintained. The mean and cruel Massena soon succeeded, when there occurred serious disorders. The houses of noblemen and other wealthy citizens were entered and objects of value carried off. Such brigandage touched the honour of the army ; and the indignant officers presented to the General a strong and determined remonstrance, to which were affixed several pages of signatures. Massena, in order to counteract this formidable opposition to thievishness, ordered a considerable portion of the army to quarters at some distance from Rome. The officers refused to obey ; on which, Massena resigned the command and left the city. A greater robbery, meanwhile was remorselessly committed. The Holy Father was deprived of his temporal sovereignty, and deported, successively, to Sienna, the Chartreuse (Carthusian Convent) of Florence, Parma, Turin, Besancon in France, Grenoble, and, finally, Valence, where Pius

VI., exhausted by fatigue and anxiety, ended his days on the 29th of August, 1799, aged 81. The people, wherever he passed, were loud in their demonstrations of affection and veneration.

Three days after the removal of the Pope, the Scotch College was taken possession of in the name of the French Republic; but not without much show of civility. Mr. McPherson, the agent, remained a month longer, hoping to do something still for the service of the mission. His chief care, however, was the safety of the students. It is very noticeable that the French authorities gave him money for his and their journey, together with a passport through France and a letter to the Minister of the Interior, in case they should get into trouble. Mr. McPherson's charge was a heavy one; but he acquitted himself of it with complete success. By 7th April, he had reached Genoa; and there, as well as at Civita Vecchia, he met with the greatest civility on the part of the French authorities. A few weeks later, he completed, without accident, the journey which he had so courageously undertaken, travelling from Marseilles through the heart of France, with his youthful charge to London.

In London Mr. McPherson was much honoured. He was an object of interest to His Majesty's Ministers, to all of whom he was introduced by Sir John

Hippisley. He had interviews with the Speaker of the House of Commons, and presentations to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. The whole political world was stirred by the presence of a man who had so fearlessly undertaken and successfully performed a journey which to all appeared exceedingly dangerous. Men's admiration was all the greater as they still retained but too lively a recollection of the worst atrocities of the French Revolution. Mr. McPherson, himself, was very cool over the matter, and only hoped that the acquaintance of so many great people would prove useful to him on some future occasion. Bishop Hay's anxiety was relieved, it was "a cordial to his heart," he said, to receive the agent's first letter from London, intimating his safe arrival. He immediately communicated the good news to Aberdeen and other places.

CAP. LVI.

VALUABLE MANUSCRIPTS—MR. MACPHERSON'S RETURN TO SCOTLAND—KIND LETTER OF CARDINAL GERDIL—PASTORAL LETTER ON LOYALTY—BISHOP GEDDES' LAST LETTER—REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES SECRETLY SPREADING IN SCOTLAND—PROPERTY OF THE SCOTCH COLLEGE, ROME—ST. PETER'S AND THE JEWS—SIR JOHN HIPPISEY IN BEHALF OF MISSION FUNDS—PUBLIC MEN FAVOURABLE—GOVERNMENT GRANT—LETTER OF MR. DUNDAS—THE FRENCH TEMPORARILY DRIVEN OUT OF ROME, BUT TOO SOON AS YET TO RESTORE ANYTHING—HOME SEMINARIES—LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BISHOP GEDDES—HIS WRITINGS—PROPAGANDA ROBBED—AIDED BY A LIBERAL SPANIARD—AUSTRIANS AND RUSSIANS BEAT THE FRENCH—SAWARROW UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE COMMISSION TO DELIVER THE POPE—PIUS VI. CONVEYED TO VALENCE—DIES THERE.

Mr. McPherson brought from Paris, four valuable manuscripts, the property of the Scotch College there. He lent them to Mr. George Chalmers, the eminent antiquary, who, in return, gave the agent a carefully written receipt. It contains the titles of the manu-

scripts which had belonged to the Archbishop of Glasgow. They are also enumerated as follows: 1st, Of the Chartulary of that See (Glasgow) marked A; 2nd, The Chartulary of the same, marked B; 3rd, An Original Register in paper of the Lands and other Temporal Rights of that See; 4th, Another Register in paper, marked on the outside, 1499, 1510, also concerning the Temporal Rights of the same See. Then follows a promise to return the manuscripts on demand, and a most polite acknowledgment of Mr. McPherson's kindness. It happened unfortunately when Mr. Chalmers died, that the Chartulary marked A, and the Register of the Lands of the See of Glasgow, notwithstanding the receipt, were considered as his private property. The other two manuscripts are now at Preshome together with other historical treasures.

Mr. McPherson now returned to Scotland, where, as may be well conceived, he met with a cordial welcome. Bishop Hay had need of this consolation, for he was overwhelmed with grief when he heard that Rome was in the hands of the French Revolutionists and the Holy Father their prisoner.

The agent was the bearer of a most kind and consoling letter from Cardinal Gerdil to the Scotch Bishops.

Bishop Hay, after visiting the building operations in progress at Aquorties, set about preparing a pastoral letter on the Duty of Loyalty to the Government. As usual, he took counsel on the subject with his invalid coadjutor, requesting him to give a sketch of the general plan of the letter. Bishop Geddes replied by an amanuensis, at great length, notwithstanding the severity of his ailments. It was the last letter that he ever composed. From this date, the afflicted Bishop no longer took any part in public affairs, but, turning his face away from the world, thought only of preparing for the final change, which, he believed, was near at hand.

The pastoral letter on Loyalty was speedily issued from the Edinburgh Press ; and was well calculated to meet a want of the time ; for there is no denying that the dangerous principles of the French Revolution were secretly spreading even among the cool and wary population of Scotland.

All the moveable property of the Scotch College at Rome was sold, and the College itself, together with the Church was let. Mr. Sloane bought from the Jews the pictures that were in the Church and the *pietra sacra* (altar stone) of the high altar. These objects it was his intention to restore in more happy days. Meanwhile he was proud to have them, as he stated in a letter to Mr. McPherson, particularly his

"friend St. Andrew," which art judges pronounced a good picture, and also "St. Margaret," a work which he intended to have repaired. It was not to be supposed that at such a time even the great Church of Rome and the Catholic world should escape being desecrated. St. Peter's was to be closed and delivered during four months to the Jews to be ungilded; and then it was to be given to the Capuchins. The Church, however, was partially saved by the parsimony of the Jews. They would not pay the price demanded for the gilding, and so the vandalic operation of removing it was not performed.

The robberies in Italy and France had so much reduced the funds of the Scotch mission that there was only a very inadequate allowance to the priests for maintenance. This was a great hardship, especially in the poorer missions. The very friendly and indefatigable Sir John Hippisley was much moved by the statements made to him by the Bishops, and resolved to use his great influence with His Majesty's Ministers in order to obtain a grant from the Government in aid of the clergy. All his diplomacy was put in requisition, and it needed it all. The Ministers were friendly and inclined to bestow the desired grant; but they dreaded lest by so doing they should raise a storm of fanatical intolerance, for they well knew that

this kind of demon was not dead, but only slept. Mr. Dundas, indeed, distinctly expressed his fear in a conversation with Sir J. Hippisley ; whilst, at the same time, he admitted that a good case had been made out for relieving the Scotch clergy. Sir John was not to be defeated. He drew up an amended statement, in which it was suggested that some private persons in Scotland might be named to whom Government might hand over a sum of money for the relief of the Catholic clergy ; and that the persons so entrusted should pay this money to the Bishops for the benefit of their clergy. The proposal was pleasing to Mr. Dundas ; and the papers relating to it were left with him. There was still much negotiation. The Lord Advocate wrote to Bishop Hay, in his own hand, although it was his custom to dictate to a clerk, stating that he was directed to ask the Bishop's opinion of the following scheme of relief, and to invite any amendments, or alterations that might occur to him. Government proposed to give each of the two Bishops £100 a year ; each of the two coadjutors £60 ; and to each of the fifty clergy £20 a year. Bishop Hay was asked whether he would wish a distinction to be made between the Bishops and their coadjutors, whether the Bishop first in rank should have more than his colleague, say £120, and the second £90 or £100 ; and the coadjutors in a

similar proportion ; and whether the £1000 which the Government designed for the clergy of the second order should be divided equally among them all. As to the "schools" the Bishop's letter of February 26th, on which this scheme was based, did not state, explicitly, what amount of aid was necessary to preserve them in the same state, as before their continual losses. Their funds were stated to be thirty shares of bank stock and £800 capital, equally divided between the two "schools." The Bishop was now asked to say whether more than this was required for their efficiency, and how much more. As to the two Colleges which were then in progress of erection, the same inquiry applied. "Your own good sense and discretion," the Lord Advocate concluded, "will, I am sure, dictate to you the delicacy of this last topic and the unavoidable necessity of these two establishments being kept on as private and limited a footing as is consistent with the object of the undertaking." When the Bishop's answer should arrive, the Advocate trusted to be able, ere long, to inform him "that a class of persons whose virtue and loyalty I so much respect, as I do that of the Catholic clergy and laity of Scotland, are relieved by the liberality of the British Government from the distresses under which they have been so unfortunately subjected." The business was finally

settled at an interview held by both the Scotch Bishops with the Lord Advocate at Edinburgh (June 17). Each of the Bishops was to receive £100 a year, and his coadjutor £50. It was also settled that the Government's allowance to the clergy should be at such a rate, as, when combined with the income of their common fund, should give each priest £20 a year. The new Colleges were to receive, each of them £50 a year, and each of them also, a grant of £600 towards their erection.

The Bishops could not but be grateful to the Ministers of the day, and particularly to Sir John Hippisley, who, after three years of persevering and tedious negotiation, had reached so happy a conclusion. They expressed their gratitude, accordingly, in an appropriate letter to Sir John, dated at Edinburgh, June 19th, 1799. Bishop Hay, at the suggestion of Sir John Hippisley, also wrote a letter of thanks, in his own and his colleague's name, to Mr. Secretary Dundas. It was favoured with a prompt and highly complimentary reply :

29th July, 1799.

“ REVEREND SIRS—It is with much pleasure, that I acknowledge the receipt of your letter, particularly as I find by it that the aid which his Majesty's Government has been enabled to extend to you and the rest of the Roman Catholic Clergy under your autho-

rity, promises to afford so much comfort and relief to to such a pious, loyal and respectable body of men as the Roman Catholic Clergy of Scotland have constantly shown themselves, and which I can have no doubt they will ever continue to be, while they have the benefit of such an example as you have invariably given them. With every good wish for your future health and happiness, I remain with much respect and regard,

“ Reverend Sirs,

“ Your very faithful, humble servant,

“ HENRY DUNDAS.”

Another proof of the liberality of our statesmen in the closing days of last century, and which shows also the general decline of bigotry, was presented by an order of the Adjutant-General to the effect that non-commissioned officers and men should be permitted to attend divine worship in the churches, chapels, or meeting houses to which they belong, when an opportunity for their doing so should offer. The Government, to their credit, let it be recorded, lost no opportunity of moderating the wrath of persecuting lairds. A tyrannical proprietor had lodged a groundless accusation against a priest. The Lord Advocate declined to entertain it, and only took occasion to request Bishop Hay to assist him in pro-

moting better feelings between the priest and Laird of Barra.

Now that the French were away from Rome, an army of twenty thousand Neapolitans having driven them from the city, a few months after they had seized it, Mr. Sloane, the devoted friend, as we have seen, of the Scotch College, thought that the time had come for the restoration of the College and its estates. He accordingly addressed Sir William Hamilton at Naples, asking him to use his influence for the recovery of so much British property. It was too soon. But neither Mr. Sloane nor any one else could foresee, at the time, that the French had not yet done with Rome. The Bishops, meanwhile, were making amends for the loss of the Colleges abroad by establishing seminaries at home. The Ministers of the Crown looked with favour on this work of the Bishops. They, as well as all other public men, were agreed as to the importance of encouraging the education of Catholic priests at home, conceiving it to be an essential part of a good education to be made acquainted with the principles of the British Constitution. It was with a view to this great advantage that so much was done in more happy times, especially by Sir John Hippisley, in order to obtain national Superiors for the British Colleges. Sir John now held the opinion that if

Bishop Hay could procure an adequate establishment for ecclesiastical education in Scotland, he would never have cause to regret the loss of the Roman College.

The severe and prolonged sufferings of the invalid Bishop at Aberdeen were now drawing to a close. In the earlier half of January there was an aggravation of his ailments. His back was laid open in two places, by bed sores, which, as he was obliged to lay in one position in bed, were of the worst description. Mortification supervened. Meanwhile the sufferer was a pattern of patience. He never complained of pain. It was frosty weather and the attending physician, Sir Alexander Bannerman, expressed the opinion that, as soon as a thaw set in, the final change would come ; and accordingly it came, slowly and surely, like the maladies by which it was preceded. It began on Saturday, February 9th, and was complete, all suffering at an end the following Monday at five o'clock in the afternoon. The snow churchyard (*Sta. Maria ad Nives*) was chosen for the place of his funeral. There was a large gathering of mourners, including the more notable people of the city. The Professors of King's College University, proprietors of the beautiful cemetery, declined to accept the usual fees. They desired no more than the signal honour that the bones of so great and so

good a man were laid at rest within their ground.

Almost all the learned Bishop's printed works including his tract, "*Watch and Pray*," a second edition of which was issued shortly before his death, have been already herein alluded to. He left, besides several manuscripts which are accessible to all who desire seriously to consult them ; and will long be held to be a treasure of no ordinary value to the student of history. They are, as follows : 1st, A Catalogue of the Scotch Missionaries ; 2nd, A short account of Mr. Ballantyne, first Prefect of the Mission ; 3rd, An Account of the Bishop's Journey to Paris in 1791, on the affairs of the Scotch College ; 4th, A Letter to the Scotch Agent in Rome on his duties ; 5th, Observations relating to the Catholic Missions in Scotland ; 6th, A Short Account of the state of Religion in Scotland in 1745-46 ; 7th, Observations on the duties of a Catholic missionary. It is also said, and on competent authority, that Bishop Geddes was the author of a *Life of Cardinal Innes*, which appeared in the *Antiquarian Transactions*, about 1794 ; and was republished in the *Edinburgh Monthly Register*, June, 1810.

When the Bishops of Scotland were incurring so much expense providing seminaries at home in place of the colleges abroad of which they were deprived, a new calamity came to aggravate their difficulties.

They had been in the habit of receiving, hitherto, substantial aid from the Congregation of Propaganda. This great institution which did so much to maintain the Christian faith in many countries and establish it in others, was now robbed of its properties by the Revolutionists and reduced to poverty. The usual remittance to the Scotch mission could no longer be looked for. This evil, however, was soon repaired through the generosity of a pious and wealthy person in Spain who contributed, yearly, a sum equal to what was expended by Propaganda for the support of the missions and colleges that were confided to its care. The benefactor chose to remain unknown. The news of this liberality gave the greatest joy and consolation to Pius VI., and he thanked God who thus extended protection to His afflicted Church.

The shameful conduct of the French towards the Church and its venerable chief brought no blessings with it. Not only were they driven from Rome. In Upper Italy their army, under Scherer, was beaten by the Austrians and Russians, commanded by Suwarroff. They took Milan and threatened Piedmont. It was soon learned that they had advanced as far as Susa, and it was announced in the Paris Gazette that Suwarroff, Commander of the Imperial armies, had orders to use his utmost efforts for the deliverance of the Pope. The dread

of the Holy Father being rescued caused him to be conveyed to Valence, where he died. General Scherer was succeeded in the command of the army of Italy by the celebrated Moreau. Under Scherer began, under Moreau was completed the loss of Bonaparte's conquests. The latter fell back before Suwaroff to the foot of the Alps. He then resigned and was replaced by General Joubert, who fell by a bullet wound at the commencement of the battle in which the French were defeated. The Russians penetrated into the French departments of Mount Blanc and the higher Alps (Hautes Alpes). But they were beaten at Zurich by Massena. Thus were the danger and disquietude of the French Republic diminished, but far from ended.

CAP. LVII.

COMBINATION AGAINST THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—
 THE 18TH “BRUMAIRE”—BONAPARTE THE EXE-
 CUTIVE POWER—THE ELECTION OF PIUS VII.
 FAVOURED BY THE GREAT POWERS — JOYFUL
 DEMONSTRATIONS AS HE REPAIRED TO ROME—
 RUSSIA’S IMPERIAL SALUTE—HOPES OF THE SCOTCH
 BISHOPS — PECUNIARY RELIEF — SEMINARY RE-
 MOVED TO AQUORTIES—BISHOP HAY FIRST PRESI-
 DENT—HIS PATIENCE IN TEACHING—HIS HABITS
 —USE OF TOBACCO—HIS KINDNESS TO STUDENTS
 —STATESMEN RECOMMEND HAVING FEW STUDENTS
 TOGETHER—HENCE BISHOP CHISHOLM FOUNDS A
 SEMINARY AT LISMORE—EXCELLENT SITE, PRICE
 £4,950.

France, stripped of its most brilliant conquests and driven back upon its frontiers, was threatened by a most formidable coalition. Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and even Turkey, provoked by the invasion of Egypt, made common cause with the rest of Europe, against France, and prepared to drive the French from Ancona. The people of Italy, disgusted by the impiety of the French Republicans, their pillage of the Sanctuary of Loretto and the persecution of

the Pope, welcomed the Austrians and Russians as liberators. The King of Naples had declared himself in favour of the coalition ; and the King of Spain, if he had dared, would have done the same. Suwarroff, who, in 1794, had given the last fatal blow to Poland in order that it might be finally partitioned between Russia, Austria and Prussia, would not have been sorry to give a like fate to revolutionary France. The French Republic, thus threatened from without by Europe in arms, was seriously disturbed interiorly by conspiracies, by Vendéans, Chouans, etc. It was sick at heart, and sick to death. Its failure was a prelude to the most despotic monarchy. Napoleon Bonaparte arrived from his Egyptian exile ; and the French Revolution, although it enjoyed for a little while *the name*, was no longer *the thing* called a Republic. The 18th “Brumaire,” and Napoleon Bonaparte was the sole executive power with the army at his command. This unlooked for event took the world by surprise. A still more astonishing event was in store—the election of another Pope. After the deportation of Pius VI. and the occupation of Rome and Italy by the French, infidelity, heresy and schism held the opinion, even openly declared, that the Papacy was used up, and Pius VI. would have no successor ; and, indeed, what human aid could be counted on ? There was not a

power that had not shown hostility. All the European powers, meanwhile, including Turkey, had formed a coalition against the revolutionary power of France. Hence, Europe in arms, commanded peace. The conclave assembled at Venice, an Austrian City. The armed powers, not excepting Russia and the sublime Port kept watch at its gates. Peace reigned supreme. Christendom, it is no exaggeration to say, held its breath in expectation of the coming spiritual chief. The Cardinals, undisturbed and without fear of disturbance, proceeded with their usual slowness and deliberation to the election of a Sovereign Pontiff. Several Cardinals were named and well supported; but for want of the requisite number of votes and other causes their candidature did not succeed. Curiously enough, Cardinal Chiaramonti was not thought of till Secretary Consalvi suggested that he should be declared a candidate. To this no Cardinal objected but himself, and a whole fortnight elapsed before his opposition was overcome. This amiable and affectionate dignitary was well known to possess every quality essential to a Pope; and, accordingly, he at once obtained the necessary number of votes, two-thirds of the whole. The rest acceding he was unanimously elected. There was but one opponent, Chiaramonti himself. He could not, however, resist the general will.

The Court of Vienna appeared to be offended by the election of Chiaramonti. They ungraciously refused to let him be crowned in the Church of St. Mark. On the 21st of March, the ceremony of crowning took place in the Church of St. George, Cardinal Anthony Doria, Dean of the Cardinals deacon, officiating. The Austrians spoke of retaining the Pope at Venice. They even thought of inducing him to take up his abode at Vienna. When Bonaparte reached the plains of Italy, they no longer opposed the departure of the Pope. He took passage, accordingly, in an Austrian frigate, and landed at Pesaro. He thence journeyed to Rome. He was received at Ancona amid salvos of artillery. The Russian ships stationed at the port, gave an imperial salute according to the orders of their Emperor, Paul I., six hundred Anconians unyoked the horses of his carriage, and, using ropes ornamented with ribbons of different colours, drew it to the palace of the Cardinal Bishop. About eight months before, the Neapolitans, assisted by some Austrian squadrons and two hundred British infantry, drove the French from Rome. They were now displeased at the arrival of the Pope, who entered Rome on the 3rd of June, 1800, the whole people making excessive demonstrations of joy. The Naples Government was obliged to recall from Rome all its troops ; but con-

tinued to occupy Benevent and Ponte Corvo, which were provinces of the Holy See.

As the Bishops of Scotland had grieved over the deportation of Pius VI., so they now rejoiced on hearing of the advent to Rome of his successor. They hoped, through a continuance of Pius VII.'s prosperity, to derive some benefit from the Roman College, and to obtain the usual aid from Propaganda. Meanwhile their financial difficulties were so far relieved by a timely bequest. Mr. Alexander Menzies, a religious Benedictine of the Pitfodels family, died at Achintoul, where he had been for some time chaplain. He had formerly been a member of the community at Ratisbon. He was much and generally regretted; but by none more than by Bishop Hay, who, having the greatest confidence in his judgment and sincerity, often consulted him. The brethren of Ratisbon were not always conspicuous for their liberality. It was otherwise, however, with Mr. Menzies and Abbot Arbuthnot. Mr. Menzies left a letter to be delivered by Bishop Hay to the Abbot, in which he requested that, at least, half of several hundred pounds which he left behind him, should be given to the fund of the secular mission. He also left a will in which Bishop Hay was named sole executor. The Abbot was to have the offer of all his money. The poor were to have

what the sale of his clothes might bring. His books and linen, he requested, might be given to his brother monk, Mr. Robertson. Abbot Arbuthnot, in compliance with the deceased brother's last wishes, and also from a spirit of liberality, for it was fully in his power to do otherwise, consented to a division of Mr. Menzies' money between the monastery and the mission. The half amounted to something more than £400.

In July, 1799, the seminary was removed from Scalan to Aquorties. The Bishop himself was the first president at the new house, which, at first, could maintain only six students although there was room for thirty, so great had been the expense of preparing the building. This inconvenience was only temporary, and in course of some time the seminary had its full complement of thirty pupils, with a suitable staff of professors and servants. It cost the Bishop a great deal to leave Scalan, to which he was much attached. It grieved him also to part with the good people of the neighbourhood. The very remoteness and solitude of Scalan had a charm for him. The cultivated and fertile fields around it with its picturesque mountain scenery must be exchanged for the bleak and dreary morass of Aquorties; for, it was not then what it has since become, a beautiful and smiling farm. The charge of a few boys and

the tedious labour incident thereto, must have been a serious trial to a man of Bishop Hay's active habits, who had been so long accustomed to the best social intercourse and intimate relations with the distinguished men of the capital. But he had at heart the founding of an important educational institution and the sacrifice must be made. It was found that the actual cost of the buildings greatly exceeded the estimate. Hence, it came to be necessary that every shilling of his own which he could spare should be called for, before even a commencement could be made. It was not enough for the Bishop to superintend. He also took his share in the daily work, as long as he was able. He taught the classes of mental philosophy and metaphysics, using as his text book Dr. Reid's Works on the Moral and Intellectual Powers. Besides lecturing on those subjects, which he studied to explain with as much clearness as they admitted of, the Bishop has left behind him a monument of his patient and humble industry in a mass of manuscript abridgments from many authors, for the use of his pupils, both at Scalán and Aquorties. It was probably as a relaxation from his more abstruse studies that he taught the rudiments of grammar, and was so fond of this work that he had a class of little boys engaged in it. He took pleasure in being with the students. He

went to breakfast, dinner and supper with them in the refectory, and never failed to attend the evening prayers of the community in the chapel, and other religious exercises. All this did not hinder him from devoting several hours of the day to mental prayer and spiritual reading, sometimes in the chapel, sometimes in his room, and pretty often, out of doors. He celebrated Mass every morning, except when the state of his health required that he should take some refectation at an early hour, or, perhaps, a little medicine.

The reader may, at first, be shocked when told that a Bishop of unquestioned holiness of life, indulged in the ugly habit of chewing tobacco. But let him have patience. One day the student who acted as sacristan (afterwards well known as the Rev. Mr. Carmichael), asked the Bishop how he came to acquire such a habit. He had no hesitation in satisfying the young man's curiosity. "Do you think that for any cause I would continue that nasty habit if I did not find it necessary? I will tell you the reason. I was long subject to a state of health which occasioned me violent headaches, and I tried every remedy I could think of to no purpose till I tried the daily use of small twist which keeps me in a much more healthy condition. Were I to give up chewing tobacco my old complaints and their bad

effects would follow; I am, therefore, to continue the ugly practice." Most drugs are unpleasant, but the patient who loves health more than he hates physic, will, nevertheless gladly swallow them.

The Bishop was much with the students in recreation hours. They listened with delight to the many stories he could tell relating to bygone times. He thus amused, and, in amusing, instructed them. He often spent the winter evenings among them when they played the Italian game of "cuckoos," distributed prizes and otherwise contributed to their amusements.

When any of the boys were sick, the Bishop, who had not forgot his medical learning, not only prescribed for them, but also administered medicines to them with his own hands. In the case of their being confined to bed, he often remained in the room with them, saying his prayers and helping them by turns, with the tenderness of a nurse, till he saw they were better.

It had been in contemplation to erect a College on a large scale for both districts. The Government, however, was opposed to the scheme. So much ill-will, prejudice, jealousy and rancour still prevailed among the lower class of people towards Catholics, that there might be dangerous consequences if many students were assembled in one place. The Lord

Advocate, therefore advised the Bishop to begin his seminary with a few pupils, and afterwards increase their numbers when circumstances warranted a change. This wise advice was not lost on the Bishops ; and Bishop Chisholm immediately set about establishing a seminary for the Highland district. The Island of Lismore was the locality selected by the Bishop. There was on this island a suitable site which could be purchased. The proprietor, Campbell, of Dunstaffnage, had erected on it a substantial house some years before. There was also an excellent garden. The land was good and limestone abundant. It was the opinion in Edinburgh that the purchase would be an advantageous one at the price demanded, £4,950. It was of easy access from Glasgow, which gave it additional advantages as regarded the conveyance of coal and other things necessary for the use of the establishment. Among the many attractions of the place there was one which could not fail to interest a Catholic purchaser. It had been the residence of the Bishop of Argyle.

CAP. LVIII.

GOVERNMENT GRANT—DELAY—SIR JOHN HIPPISELEY
 SUCCESSFUL—COLLEGE PROPERTY AT ROME—MR.
 ANDREW SCOTT AT HUNTLEY—THE LIVES OF THE
 SAINTS—DEMAND FOR RELIGIOUS BOOKS—NEED
 OF A LARGE CHURCH AT EDINBURGH—DIFFI-
 CULTIES—ELECTION OF PIUS VII.—THE BISHOPS
 OFFICIALLY INFORMED — CONGRATULATIONS —
 SCOTCH PROPERTY AT ROME—CLAIMED FROM THE
 NEAPOLITAN GENERAL—ITS DESPERATE CONDITION
 —APPEAL TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT—LETTERS
 TO ROME—THE CLERGY PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL
 INCOME.

There was difficulty and delay in obtaining payment of the money granted by Government for the benefit of the Catholic clergy in Scotland. Sir John Hippisley was, on application, informed that the Secretary of the Treasury had received orders to intimate to the Lord Advocate that the money would be paid in three weeks from the date of Sir John's letter (August 27th, 1799). Nine weeks elapsed when Sir John went to the Treasury and was told that there was a difficulty, the Scotch Catholic clergy having no representative in London. On hearing

this, Sir John immediately wrote to Bishop Hay, requesting that he would lose no time in sending a power of attorney in his own name and that of Bishop Chisholm, authorizing him (Sir John) and Mr. Spalding, M. P. for the Galloway Burghs, to receive the money granted to the Scotch clergy. There was only a weekly mail to the nearest town from Moydart, where Bishop Chisholm was staying at his seminary. This remoteness of the Highland Bishop was the cause of further delay, but not the end of it. Sir John on presenting the power of attorney, was informed that there was so great a run on the treasury that the payment he desired could not be made sooner than shortly before Christmas.

It proved however to be a good deal later. Only on the 21st January, 1800, was the Procurator able to acquaint Bishop Hay that the money for the mission was paid. Much it may be said, all, in this matter, was due to the determined perseverance of Sir John Hippisley.

There was now some hope of recovering the College property in Rome, and it was decided that Mr. McPherson should resume his duties as agent. This re-appointment to his former office at Rome was much to his liking ; and a commission was prepared, in the name of both the Bishops, empowering him to act for them in recovering the property

of the mission in Italy. He was replaced in the mission of Huntly by Mr. Andrew Scott, who was afterwards so highly distinguished. Mr. Moir, a British resident in Rome, was empowered to act in the interest of the mission till the arrival of the agent.

The reprinting of the Lives of the Saints now commenced was quite an undertaking. There appears to have been, at the time, a demand for religious publications. Bishop Hay's three best known works were out of print.

The Catholics of Edinburgh conceived the idea of having one large church, in which both congregations could meet, instead of the two small chapels in Blackfriar's Wynd. Mr. C. Maxwell, their pastor, was at the head of the movement ; and proposed to purchase a house in the Canongate, which, according to his description, was very eligible for the priest's residence, while the garden attached to it, a quarter of an acre in extent, presented a suitable site for the new church. It had been the city mansion of the Earl of Wemyss, by whom it was built. The price demanded was 1,000 guineas. The Bishop could not see any reason for encouraging the scheme. He told Mr. Maxwell that no dependence could be placed on subscriptions from the Catholics in the north. They had already aided in building chapels

all over the country and were quite unprepared for any new call on their charity. As to the Bishop himself, owing to the many demands upon him, he was unable to give any assistance. All that he could do was to authorize the sale of the two old chapels in aid of the new building.

This, however, could not be done until the proposed chapel was ready for use. Mr. Maxwell could have no assurance that the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the intended site would not object to and oppose the erection of a Catholic chapel after the Catholics were committed to it by the purchase of the house. There was powerful opposition to have St. Margaret's chapel in the house that was purchased for it. The Bishop was met with a lawsuit, which, however, was decided, fortunately in his favour. If the project continued to be entertained, the Bishop would have Mr. Maxwell break the matter to the Lord Advocate and the Lord Provost, in order to learn their opinion. He desired, moreover, to hear what was said against the scheme, and particularly by the Rev. Mr. Rattray, on whose judgment he placed great reliance. Mr. Rattray vigourously opposed the measure; and, first of all because a chapel in the Canongate would not be convenient for the congregation. In the second place, the house was too small for the residence of the clergy. It was only a wing

of the house built by Lord Wemyss about 1735. The actual proprietor, a bookseller, had bought it a few years previously, for £350, and the value of houses in that part of the town had been falling ever since, the proprietors generally being glad to sell them at any price, and remove to the more fashionable new town. Notwithstanding all this, the wily bookseller had deceived Mr. Maxwell and persuaded him to offer £1,000 for the remaining part of Lord Wemyss' residence. Mr. Maxwell was indignant at Mr. Rattray's interference ; and it was not without difficulty that the latter succeeded in preventing a bargain from being concluded until the Bishop could be heard from. The Bishop, with his usual caution, declined to give a decision until he had learned everything connected with the proposed scheme. He accordingly authorized Mr. Rattray to obtain from the committee that was entrusted with the care of promoting the plan of the new chapel, an exact description of the building which it was proposed to purchase, signed by every member of the committee, together with all other particulars that were calculated to throw light on the subject. Financial difficulties were also taken into consideration ; and finally, the idea of purchasing for £1,000 a house for which the proprietor had paid only £350, was abandoned. It was reserved for Bishop Hay's distinguished successor to erect a large

and more handsome church in a suitable part of the city. While the discussion regarding the proposed new chapel was proceeding, the Bishop received official information from Cardinal Erskine of the election of Pope Pius VII. He immediately imparted the same to Bishop Chisholm, as well as to the clergy of his own district. It now became the duty of the Bishop to compliment the Holy Father on his accession to the Chair of Peter. He had never failed to fulfil this duty on former occasions; and he now only waited for the concurrence of his colleague, Bishop Chisholm. It was decided, accordingly, that when the Bishops met in July they should send to Rome a joint letter of congratulation. In the meantime, Bishop Hay acquainted Cardinal Erskine with the wise intention.

The Neapolitans having taken Rome, it was now thought that something might be done towards the recovery of the Scotch property there. Mr. Moir, who held a letter of procuration authorizing him to deal with this property, found that he was anticipated by a Mr. Fagan. This person, as soon as the city was occupied by the army of Naples, claimed restitution of all British property from the Neapolitan General. Mr. Moir, on this account, found it necessary to use his letter of procuration, but declined doing anything until the arrival of Mr. McPherson.

This gentleman reached the city in July, 1800. He found the Scotch College and its property in a deplorable condition. "The house," he says, writing to Bishop Hay, "is going fast to ruin. It is let out to almost as many different families as there are rooms in it, all wretchedly poor creatures, unable to pay the rent, or keep the house in repair. I wished Mr. Fagan to turn them out. He attempted to do so, and could have done it at pleasure, a month or two back. But, ever since Cardinal Albani returned to Rome, they have got protectors enough among his creatures, and laugh at Fagan. I have seen the Cardinal. He says till Fagan resigns all his assumed power, he will do nothing. His minions do enough. In the meantime, I am obliged to take up my quarters elsewhere, and if ever I get into the College it will now be with difficulty and not on the terms you and I expected. The old rector is returned and has by far more interest in Albani's court than I. The vineyards, already in a wretched state, will be in a worse one before we have anything to do with them. They have been let by Mr. Fagan till the end of this year, for one hundred and a few odd crowns. Hence, till autumn of 1801, though I get possession the College, I cannot touch a half-penny of the revenues. But, to me it appears very improbable I will get possession of it." (11th July, 1800.)

In the same letter Mr. McPherson suggested that application should be made, through Mr. George Chalmers, who had always shown himself very friendly, to the British Ministry, asking them to use their influence with the Neapolitan Government, for complete restoration to its rightful owners of the Scotch College and the property attached to it.

Bishop Chisholm came in July to meet his colleague at Aquorties ; and there the two Bishops prepared their annual letters,—one in Latin to the new Pope, and another in Italian, to Cardinal Borgia, Pro Prefect of Propaganda. These they enclosed in a complimentary letter to Monsignor Erskine. The routine of the annual meeting was diversified by the presentation of a petition to Bishop Hay by some of the clergy of his district, which could only be justified by the difficulties to which they were subjected in consequence of the scantiness of their incomes. It requested that the Bishop would both urgently and speedily use his influence with their congregations to induce them to raise their annual allowance to £50. This does not appear to be an extravagant request, unless, indeed, the purchasing power of money was much greater at that time than it is now. The petition was adopted at a meeting of the clergy held at Preshome, the preceding month of May. It was presented by Messrs. Stuart and Scott on the part

of their brethren. There was nothing unreasonable in the petition, as may be judged from the names that were appended to it, such as Mr. Paterson, afterwards Bishop at Edinburgh, Mr. Mathieson, Mr. John Reid, Mr. George Gordon (late of Dufftown), Mr. James Carruthers and Mr. James Sharp. These clergymen were all highly esteemed by the Bishop. Their petition was, however, considered unreasonable since it was necessary to obtain a Government grant in order to provide for existing charges, and when the people were in a distressed condition, from the scarcity of provisions. Bishop Hay received it respectfully, but, finally, could not see grounds for entertaining it. In stating his reasons for declining, the Bishop incidentally mentioned that thirty years before, the mission funds in the whole of Scotland, did not exceed £60 a year. The accounts of 1769 show a home revenue of only £48 belonging to the mission. Its foreign income was £200, with twenty-four missionaries to share it, while, owing to the exertions of the Bishop (which was chiefly Bishop Hay's), they produced at the date of the meeting of 1800, a yearly income of £466, which was equal to a capital of more than £8,000.

CAP. LIX.

THE BRITISH COLLEGES AT ROME—THE NEW SEMINARY IN SCOTLAND SOLIDLY ESTABLISHED—THE BISHOP OF THE HIGHLAND DISTRICT PURCHASES AN ELIGIBLE SITE FOR A COLLEGE IN THE ISLAND OF LISMORE, PRICE £4,950—THE HIGHEST STATESMEN FAVOUR CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION—THE CORONATION OATH AN IMPEDIMENT—SALARIES OF THE CLERGY—A FALSE ACCUSATION—VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE BISHOP—THE BISHOP DETERMINES ON PRESERVING THE SCOTCH COLLEGE AT ROME—GRATITUDE TO THE GOVERNMENT, HONOUR AND LOYALTY TO THE KING—OBJECTIONS TO THE CLERGY ACTING POLITICALLY—THE SCOTCH COLLEGE AT PARIS—LARGER CHURCH NEEDED AT EDINBURGH—THE LORD ADVOCATE FAVOURABLE—SUBSCRIPTIONS—SITE—VANDYKE'S "DESCENT FROM THE CROSS"—BISHOP CAMERON'S RETURN—WHY DELAYED—MR. ANDREW CARRUTHERS AND CERTAIN REGULATIONS.

Pius VII. had no sooner arrived in Rome than negotiations were recommenced with a view to have national superiors placed over the British and Irish Colleges. The agent was powerless. All the high

dignitaries were against him, with the exception of Cardinal York and the Secretary of Propaganda, Monsignor Brancadoro. They mistrusted the agent as an intruder on the exclusive privilege of the Italians. Opposed to their views was, it may be said, the whole power of the British Government, through the indefatigable exertions of Sir John Hippisley. This able and friendly diplomatist addressed letters on the subject to many of the Cardinals and even to the Pope himself. In doing so he had the full support of the influence and authority of the British Government. At the same time all the British and Irish Catholic Bishops united in presenting a memorial to His Holiness praying for the restoration of the National Colleges in Rome, and that they should be placed on such a footing as to compensate in some degree, for the losses sustained in France. They prayed also that national superiors should be appointed over the Colleges.

The labours of the Bishop were at this time very severe, and the more so as he enjoyed not as yet the assistance of his recently appointed coadjutor. He was indefatigable in his visitations; and the interest he took in the new seminary imposed on him additional care and work that would have afforded more than sufficient employment for his undivided energies. The low state of the College funds, consequent upon

its transference to Aquorties, and the erection of a new building, added not a little to his cares. It could not yet compare with the ancient institutions of the continent ; but it was established on a safe and solid basis, and destined in due time to produce abundant fruit.

1781. The Bishop of the Highland district now set about accomplishing the purpose which the Bishops had intimated to Propaganda. The Island of Lismore was selected for a site. The proprietor, Campbell, of Dunstaffnage, a few years before had built on the island a substantial house, attached to which there was an excellent garden. The land was good, and there was abundance of limestone. It was the opinion in Edinburgh that it was a good purchase at the price required, £4,950. It was very accessible from the great commercial city of Glasgow, a circumstance which gave it great facilities for the conveyance of coal and such other things as were necessary for the use of the seminary. It was an additional recommendation that it had once been the residence of the Bishop of Argyle.

The services and influence of Sir John Hippisley had been mainly instrumental in obtaining a grant of money to the mission from the Government. He now renewed negotiations for obtaining a remittance of this grant, and was favoured with the promise that

a payment of £1,600 would be made within forty days. About the same time this active and friendly public man informed Mr. McPherson that the British Cabinet was divided on the subject of Catholic Emancipation. Mr. Pitt, Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas and Mr. Wyndham were in favour of granting the boon, and in consequence resigned. King George III. had scruples in regard to his Coronation Oath which could not be overcome. All arguments he treated as incomprehensible metaphysics. Such, at least, was Mr. Dundas' experience of the royal mind. When pressed by this Minister, with cogent reasoning, he told the great statesman that *he would have none of his Scotch metaphysics.*

The clergy, this year, renewed their application for an increase of salary, insisting that the Bishop should lay upon their congregations the obligation of contributing towards their support. This request was met by a determined refusal, the Bishop holding that such contributing ought to be left to the free will of the people. The influence of the pastors with their flocks, one would suppose, might have prevailed so far as to induce them to add something to salaries that were so small and insufficient. The clergy, nevertheless, persisted clamourously in their representations to the Bishop, and even went so far as to accuse him of appropriating the money granted by

Government to his own use and that of his seminary. They were encouraged in this idea by the knowledge that each student in his new College cost him £27 a year. The procurator, Mr. C. Maxwell, who knew all the details, concurred with the Bishop in stating that the money in question had been properly distributed. This statement, coming as it did, from *the head of the opposition*, ought to have satisfied the malcontents. In this matter, however, the procurator could not oppose the Bishop, as, owing to the duties of his office he was perfectly conversant with the facts of the case. A few of the clergy, notwithstanding, on whom their poverty pressed heavily in a season of scarcity, would not take his word, and continued in their course. The Bishop, hitherto, had not made sufficient account of public opinion, which, if rightly informed, would have supported him. A full statement of the distribution of the funds was laid before a meeting of the administrators and a deputation of the discontented clergy at Aberdeen. With this statement all were satisfied, as they could not fail to be. There only remained the humiliation of the Bishop being judged by his subordinates; and this might have been avoided if, in deference to opinion, he had made an earlier statement as to how, through the procurator, the funds in question had been disposed of. The scheme of division originated

with the Government ; and it behoved the Bishops to carry it out. A unanimous vote of confidence was passed in Bishop Hay's honour and integrity, and recorded in the minutes of the meeting. It was declared, moreover, that all past complaints against him were nothing better than vague and unfounded assertions, deserving only to be totally disregarded.

At this time (1801) the Scotch College at Rome was deeply in debt ; and, as the mission at home was unable to do anything towards relieving it, the only way of removing the liabilities appeared to be to sell the College properties. To this plan, however, the Bishop was opposed so long as there remained a chance of retrieving its fortunes.

At a meeting of administrators held this year, inquiry was made as to the precise nature of the transactions with Government, and the proceedings were appropriately terminated with a letter of thanks addressed by the meeting to Sir John Hippisley as the sincere and disinterested friend and benefactor of the mission. It was requested in the letter, that, as a new favour, Sir John would assure His Majesty's Ministers of the heartfelt gratitude of the Scotch clergy for the late act of benevolence ; and of their habitual disposition to cultivate in their own minds, and to propagate among their people sentiments of loyalty to His Majesty's sacred person, and of attach-

ment to the happy Constitution under which they lived. Sir John lost no time in returning a suitable reply to this complimentary and loyal address.

A contest for the representation of Aberdeenshire being near at hand, it was not unreasonable that Sir John should look to the Scotch Bishop for some return of the favours which the Government had so liberally bestowed. Mr. Ferguson, the Government candidate, had warmly seconded Sir John's appeal to Mr. Dundas for a grant to the clergy, and had borne ample testimony to the loyalty of the Catholics in his neighbourhood. None knew better than Sir John Hippisley that the Catholic clergy could not prudently take an active part in a contested election; but if Bishop Hay could fall upon some means that would not be open to any reasonable objection, of promoting Mr. Ferguson's candidature, it would be a favour to himself as well as to the Government.

The Bishops held their annual meeting this year at Aberdeen. The affairs of the Scotch College in France engaged their attention. As there was a prospect of peace, they were encouraged to hope for the recovery of, at least, a part of the mission property. Sir John Hippisley readily took part in the necessary negotiations. The Bishop memorialized the Foreign Secretary, Lord Hawkesbury, requesting him to promote the realizing and withdraw-

ing from France all the property of the mission, both at Paris and at Douai ; and the transference of it to Scotland. Meanwhile, the ex-Principal, Mr. Gordon, had returned to Paris and did everything in his power to thwart Mr. Innes, who acted for the mission. Such proceeding greatly increased the difficulty of negotiations, which, even without this hindrance, were not of the most facile description. Bishop Hay was obliged to journey to Edinburgh in November, in order to take counsel with Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Farquarson on the subject. The result of this consultation was that Mr. Innes received full power to represent the interests of the mission and to act for the Scotch Bishops. Finally, Mr. Farquarson was sent to Paris in order to assist him.

At this time there was a great desire among the Catholics to have a larger and more handsome church at Edinburgh. The scheme of Mr. C. Maxwell having been discarded as impracticable, Mr. Rattray conceived a design less open to objection. He began by conciliating the good will of the chief public men. He addressed the new Lord Advocate, Mr. Hope, intimating the proposal, and requesting his concurrence. The ex-Lord Advocate, now Chief Baron of Exchequer, was also consulted and asked to concur. Mr. Hope, on his own part and that of his predecessor, with much politeness, declined to offer any

opposition to the proposed plan ; but reminded Mr. Rattray of the strong prejudice that still existed in the country against his form of religion, and, therefore, advised him to do nothing that might excite it. The more quietly the matter could be managed the better ; and the subscription ought not to be publicly advertised. He himself, as a member of the Established Church, regretted that weak brethren might consider it an impropriety if the subscription opened with his name. He promised, however, to protect any of the Catholics who might, in future, be exposed to the illegal opposition or the insults of misguided people. Mr. Rattray having thus far provided against opposition at home, set about securing funds for the proposed undertaking. His chief hope lay in the English Catholic body, although, at the same time, the aid of his Scotch friends was not to be despised. Mr. Marmaduke Maxwell, of Terreagles, was among the first to place his name on the subscription list, and for the munificent sum of 100 guineas. Mr. Weld, of Lulworth, also co-operated ; and, finding that “good Bishop Hay” was still in life, begged Mr. Rattray to assure him of his veneration and esteem for him. The distinguished banker, Sir William Forbes, who was the chief pillar of the Episcopalian body, gave his name for £10. Early in the year 1802 the subscriptions amounted to

£900. Among the subscribers were the Duchess of Buccleugh, Lord Moira and other Protestants. Not a little of this liberality was due to the memory of Bishop Geddes, most of the contributors being among his personal friends. As was to be expected, Dr. Alexander Wood, Bishop Hay's old and devoted friend, subscribed. Mr. Rattray was eminently successful among all classes ; so much so that he thought little of an English Catholic nobleman's subscription of £5, although it was accompanied by a promise to solicit other subscriptions. As the subscriptions were proceeding, a site for a church and house adjoining was purchased between St. James' Square and York place. It measured one hundred and twelve feet by forty-five. The price was over £300. The time for building, however, had not yet arrived ; nor was the purchased site finally accepted. It behoved it to give place to another in the same neighbourhood which was in every way more convenient, and on which the pro-Cathedral now stands. A painting by Vandyke, representing the "Descent from the Cross," was the altar piece, and still remains so in the more recent church, if no better has been found, having survived all dangers.

Although Mr. Farquarson remained at Paris till June, he did not succeed in accomplishing anything. He was anxious to regain his congregation in Glas-

gow, which, during his absence, was without a pastor. Bishop Cameron joined him late in May, on his return from Valladolid, where he had officiated for some time as Bishop, and they travelled home in company. The new Bishop enjoyed great favour, and had many friends in Spain ; so it is not surprising that the whole city of Valladolid regretted his departure, which was considered as a serious loss. A false rumour ascribed to him the ambitious purpose of delaying his return to Scotland until he could rule the district alone. There was nothing farther from his mind, and his arrival, after much hindrance, relieved Bishop Hay of great difficulty and labour, which he was no longer able to undergo. The real causes of the coadjutor's delay were very different from what rumour had laid to his charge. All the time of the war, the Spanish Minister refused to give him a passport. He was detained eighteen months by severe illness. For some time he was without money for his journey, the income of the College having been greatly diminished. The state of the College, also, which stood so much in need of improvement, required his presence ; and this necessity induced him to yield to the representations of his friends and advisers at Valladolid, who concurred in detaining him. He left the College in an improved condition. Mr. Wallace remained there as one of

the masters, together with Mr. Gordon and Mr. Cameron, the new Bishop's nephew.

There occurred about this time a curious instance of a priest requesting the Bishop to give him information regarding matters of quite a rudimentary kind. This priest was no other than Mr. Andrew Carruthers, the chaplain at Munshes, at the time still a young man. For an answer to the first three of his queries, the Bishop referred him to the *Statutia Missionis*, remarking that however well his correspondent might have studied, he had overlooked hitherto the manual of his daily duties. For the solution of another difficulty, Mr. Carruthers was advised to study a certain chapter and section of the *Sincere Christian*, a work which could scarcely have escaped the notice of any priest in Scotland. There was only one point of general interest, and one of which little could be learned from books. There appears to have prevailed in Galloway at that time, the custom of abstaining from eggs on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday. The Bishop, when he first came to the mission, understood from his predecessors that all *lacticinea*, or, white meats, were used in Lent as common food, and for the very satisfactory reason that by far the greater number of the Catholics in Scotland had no other kind of food at that season of the year. The long winter and late spring deprived

them of vegetables ; and milk, even, was often scarce when Lent began early. The Bishop found, however, that eggs were not universally used in Lent. All the churches and chapelries which, in Catholic times, were included in the Archiepiscopal Province of St. Andrews, by virtue of an ancient privilege, handed down by constant tradition, made use of eggs from the second Sunday in Lent till Palm Sunday. During the first ten days of Lent and Holy Week they abstained from eggs. The other Scotch parishes, not in the Province of St. Andrews, abstained from eggs during the whole of Lent. Hence, the parish of Bellie, in the Enzie, enjoyed the privilege, while the neighbouring parish of Rathven was denied it. Thus, too, at Aberdeen, eggs were not used in Lent, but were in the Mearns, south of the river Dee. It was also known to the Bishop that, in some inland places, far from the sea, especially in the Highlands, where the winters were longer and the springs later, it had become a custom to use eggs during Lent, except in the first and last weeks.

CAP. LX.

BISHOP CAMERON AS COADJUTOR—BISHOP HAY'S LOAN WITHOUT INTEREST TO THE NEW CHURCH OF ABERDEEN—DEATH OF REV. GEO. MAXWELL, S. J., AT THE AGE OF NINETY—HIS GIFT OF £400 TO STONEYHURST—LIBERAL ALSO TOWARDS THE SEMINARIES OF SCOTLAND—RELIQUES; A SILVER THURIBLE AND REMONSTRANCE OF HOLYROOD—BISHOP CAMERON AT EDINBURGH; HAS SOLE CHARGE OF THE COUNTRY SOUTH OF THE GRAMPIANS—BISHOP HAY TRANSFERS THE MISSION PROPERTY HELD IN HIS NAME TO TRUSTEES—BISHOP CHISHOLM TAKES POSSESSION OF HIS SEMINARY IN THE ISLAND OF LISMORE—MEETS BISHOPS HAY AND CAMERON AT AQUORTIES—MGR. ERSKINE CARDINAL—BECOMES CARDINAL PROTECTOR—WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN—PASTORAL IN SUPPORT OF GOVERNMENT—NEW PRAYER FOR THE KING—BISHOP CAMERON AND THE SPANISH EMBASSY—CHIEF DUTY ON THE COADJUTOR—MR. ÆNEAS CHISHOLM CHOSEN BISHOP OF HIGHLAND DISTRICT—BISHOP MILNER—HOW BISHOP CAMERON TRAVELLED—REPORT TO ROME FROM THE HIGHLANDS—MR. ÆNEAS CHISHOLM'S CONSECRATION.

DELAYED—THE “DEVOUT” AND “PIOUS CHRISTIAN” TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH—THE AUTHOR’S AUTOBIOGRAPHY—BISHOP HAY STRUCK WITH PARALYSIS—RALLIES—REMITTANCE OF 200 CROWNS AND CONGRATULATIONS TO THE SCOTCH BISHOPS.

We now find Bishop Cameron acting for the first time as coadjutor. In August, 1802, he met the Bishops of both districts at Edinburgh, and transacted together with them the usual business of the annual meeting. In the letter to Propaganda it was mentioned that Bishop Hay’s memory had failed so much more as to leave him often without words to express his meaning. After the meeting he began his journey back to Aquorties in company with Bishop Cameron. The latter spent a month among his friends in the North, and then returned to Edinburgh for the winter.

A new and better church was now provided at Aberdeen, Mr. Gordon having zealously exerted himself in obtaining subscriptions among his friends. Bishop Hay contributed in the form of a loan of £300 without interest.

It would be a serious omission not to record the death, at ninety years of age, of a venerable priest who had long and faithfully served the mission. This was none other than the ex-Jesuit, Mr. George Maxwell. There was no other disease than the decay

incident to old age. His servant found him one day in his chair in a state of stupour. Mr. C. Maxwell hastened to his assistance, and at once administered Extreme Unction and the last blessing. Immediately after this he departed to his rest. Mr. Maxwell was a liberal contributor to the Seminary which his former brethren of the suppressed Order established at Stoneyhurst. His offering was £400 in gold. Notwithstanding some difference of opinion as to the property of the ex-Jesuits in Scotland, there was always a warm friendship between him and Bishop Hay, who highly esteemed him and often consulted him. He bequeathed his money, with the exception of the sum already mentioned, to his Order in the event of it being restored, and the interest thereof, in the meantime, to the Seminaries of Scotland. In connection with Mr. Maxwell's will, the Bishop found it necessary to visit Edinburgh. On his return to Aquorties he wrote a long letter to his coadjutor in which he complains of his fast declining health which was greatly impaired by his recent journey. In the same letter he refers to a relic of the by-gone time—a silver thurible with incense boat attached, together with a Remonstrance or *Soleil* for the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. These all belonged of old to the Royal Chapel of Holyrood Palace, when the Duke of York, after-

wards James VII. and II., held his Court there. The Bishop's friend, M. L'Abbe Latil, desired to have these things as a loan for the use of his small congregation, and they were kindly sent to him.

It does not appear that there was any want of cordiality between the Bishop and his coadjutor. The former certainly could not have given to the latter a warmer or more friendly welcome. The junior Bishop was now to reside at Edinburgh, a fitting place for the commencement of a career that was destined to be so bright. He was also entrusted with the sole charge of the country south of the Grampian Mountains.

The chapel at Aberdeen was now so much enlarged that it might well be termed a church. In our day it would have this designation.

Bishop Hay was now relieved of his more onerous duties, the coadjutor, according to the arrangement entered into, having taken up his residence at Edinburgh. The congregation there was not destined as yet to have a new and more commodious church.

The want of sufficient funds obliged Mr. Rattray to abandon his favourite scheme. The estimated cost, £4000, was beyond any that he had been able to collect. Meanwhile, Bishop Hay was devoting his time and his purse at Aquorties to the improvements of the Seminary. "I am now," he said, writing

to Bishop Chisholm, "In a manner, out of the world, and with good reason, for, I am almost good for nothing." He was resolved, however, to do one good thing, and that was to transfer his property and the mission funds that were held in his name, to trustees, in order to avoid the uncertainty and expense of disposing of it by will. The legacy duty alone at the time, a recent invention of financiers, was no inconsiderable item; litigation, which is always costly, might also have jeopardized the funds.

Bishop Chisholm, before repairing to the annual meeting, took possession of his Seminary at Lismore. He then passed over the Grampain Mountains to Aquorties, where Bishops Hay and Cameron awaited him. The annual letters were prepared on the first of August. One of these was a complimentary letter to Mgr. Erskine on occasion of his elevation to the dignity of Cardinal. This Prelate succeeded Cardinal Albani, a few months later, as Cardinal Protector of Scotland. Propaganda had also a new Prefect in succession to Cardinal Borgia. He learned from the Bishop's annual letter to Propaganda the unwelcome fact that Bishop Hay's memory had so much failed that he could no longer attempt to preach or say Mass in public. War had broken out anew between France and Great Britain and became the occasion of a joint pastoral letter which

the Bishops issued before closing the meeting. In this letter the people were earnestly called upon to support the Government to the best of their ability, whether by enlisting for military service or by their prayers. The letter was accompanied by a new prayer for the King and Royal Family.

A circumstance now occurred which caused much concern and alarm to Bishop Hay. He dreaded lest he should be deprived of the aid of his coadjutor. Through the Abbe Latil, Chaplain to the exiled Royal Family of France, Bishop Cameron was offered the first chaplaincy of the Spanish Embassy in London. Of the five Spanish chaplains already in office, not one knew a word of the Spanish language. In consequence of this rather singular circumstance, Bishop Cameron, if he had accepted office, must have resided constantly in London. It does not appear that he ever entertained the idea of accepting. But a charge so incompatible with the exercise of his episcopal duties in Scotland was at once rejected.

Bishop Hay's growing infirmities induced him once more to solicit from the authorities at Rome permission to transfer the duties of his office to his coadjutor. In writing to Cardinal Borgia on the subject he gave such an account of his health as appeared to secure a favourable answer to his request. For two

years he had not been able to say Mass in public. It was three years since he had preached, so great was the failure of his memory. The most familiar words escaped him, even in conversation. This made him adverse to visiting. He could hardly stand sometimes from attacks of giddiness and great weakness. He was not himself surprised at all this, as he had reached the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his missionary labours. The administration of the district besides could not be in more able hands than those of his coadjutor.

New complications now occurred in the affairs of the Scotch College at Paris, in consequence of the death of Mr. Innes ; and there was less prospect than ever of recovering the property in France.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Borgia consulted Bishop Hay as to the qualifications of the three candidates named for the coadjutorship of the Highland district. Mr. Æneas Chisholm, a brother of the Bishop, was finally chosen. Soon after another letter from Rome conveyed to Bishop Hay a polite refusal of his request. It may be said, however, to have been virtually granted, as, in the same letter he was advised to lay the chief burden of duty on his coadjutor, but still to retain in his own hands the office of Vicar Apostolic.

The Right Rev. Dr. Milner, so celebrated in the history of the English Church, in a letter to Bishop

Cameron, expressed the hope that "the venerable Bishop Hay was in good health," adding that he had the honour to be known to him twenty-five years ago, when he was in London.

Rumours had got afloat to the effect that the Society of Jesus was re-established, and that Mr. John Pepper had renewed his vows at Stoneyhurst. Bishop Douglas, however, forwarded to Scotland a circular letter from Propaganda which conveyed the information that all such rumours regarding the restoration of the Society, were unfounded; but that they were still limited to the Russian Empire.

We now find the Bishops preparing for the annual meeting. Bishop Cameron resolved to perform a part of the journey from Edinburgh on horseback. For this purpose he purchased a horse at Perth; but a friend insisted on his accepting the loan of a gig in which he travelled by Bræmar, Strathdown, Glenlivat and Huntley to the Seminary at Aquorties. From thence he conveyed Bishop Hay along with him in this easy kind of carriage to Preshome, where the meeting of Bishops took place this year in the middle of August. It was resolved that Mr. John Reid, who had served the mission of Preshome during forty years, should be allowed to retire with an annuity of £50. The Bishops addressed a joint letter of congratulation to Cardinal Erskine on occa-

sion of his succeeding to the Protectorship of the Scotch mission. Detailed replies were prepared to a number of questions regarding the statistics of both districts, addressed by Propaganda to the Bishops. It was the first time any report was ever presented by the Bishop of the Highlands.

At the meeting of administrators, Bishop Hay was induced by his inability to remember words to resign the Presidency to his colleague, Bishop Chisholm. When there was question of anything important, the coadjutor spoke for him.

Preparations had been made for the consecration of the Highland coadjutor ; but emigration and death had so much reduced the numbers of the clergy that Mr. Æneas Chisholm's services as a priest were required during the ensuing winter. Hence his consecration was delayed till the following year.

One of the last vigorous efforts of Bishop Hay was to dictate directions to his trustees regarding his fifty bank shares. His remarkable clearness in calculation showed that his intellect still retained its power, although his memory had so greatly failed.

Meanwhile, the reputation of Bishop Hay's theological works was spreading far and wide. The *Devout and Pious Christian* was now translated into the French language by a French Priest in America,

for publication in France ; and the translator applied to Bishop Cameron for a biography of the author. This request was forwarded to Bishop Hay, who appeared to be quite indifferent to the proposal. He did, however, give the date of his birth, adding that he was of a " respectable family," that his father had " given him a full education in the medical line," that during his studies he had embraced the Catholic religion, and pursued a full course of theological studies at Rome ; that, returning to the mission in 1759, he was consecrated Bishop and coadjutor in 1764, succeeding to the Vicariate in the eastern district of Scotland in 1778. This short notice was all that could be obtained for the zealous translator of his excellent works.

The Bishop was still able to teach the students of philosophy. They were engaged with him in the study of logic and natural philosophy. In these studies the Bishop employed *Para's Physics* as a text book.

The Bishop and his coadjutor were quite of one mind, contrary to what some people affected to suppose. This pleasing fact is fully established by their confidential correspondence.

The state of the Seminary at this time was very gratifying to the aged Bishop, and gave promise of still greater improvement in the near future. There

was favourable harvest weather and an abundant crop. The number of students had increased, and they as well as their masters were in excellent health. In the midst of this prosperity there came a dismal cloud. On the night from 25th to 26th of October, the Bishop, already so infirm, was struck with paralysis. He was unaware of the stroke, until he attempted to rise, when he felt that his right side was affected. He arose, however, and got into his chair, managing to dress himself without assistance. By the time he had done so, he was scarcely able to move or speak. He was immediately put to bed again, and medical assistance sent for. His mind, meanwhile, was not in the least affected. Towards evening, the oppression still continuing, he desired to receive the Viaticum, dreading lest later he should not be able to swallow. All that his physician could do was to recommend warmth and friction. But he himself, remembering that anodyne plaster was used successfully in Spain for paralytic affections, had one applied to his loins. In consequence he passed a good night, sleeping well, and appeared to be better next morning. His speech at the same time was less inarticulate. The plaster having succeeded so well, he applied it to his head and those parts of his limbs which were most affected. The results were excellent. Originally of a strong constitution, he

slowly rallied from the attack. By the 30th of October he was able to leave his bed, dress and undress himself, and take his food with tolerable appetite. Next morning he rose at seven, an early hour in the circumstances, but much later than his wonted time. His right side gradually recovered its power, his defective utterance alone remaining. He attributed his restoration, under God, to the Spanish plaster ; and he would have no other remedy.

Bishop Cameron continued to receive bulletins from Aquorties until there was no longer cause to apprehend immediate danger. He then wrote, assuring the Bishop that he prayed earnestly for his recovery, and that he also had the prayers and good wishes of his many friends at Edinburgh. The invalid, now so wonderfully convalescent, replied at some length to the kind letter of his coadjutor ; giving details of his attack and recovery, which are in every important particular the same as is here set down. Mr. Charles Gordon was employed on the occasion as the Bishop's amanuensis.

As affairs became settled at Rome, Propaganda renewed its liberality ; and along with a remittance of 200 crowns, addressed a letter of encouragement to the aged Scotch Bishops (February 9th, 1805), consoling them in their infirmities and congratulating them on having spent the greater part of their lives in the vineyard of the Lord with so much usefulness that they might say to the just Judge with the apostle of the Nations : "*Ronum certamen certavi.*"

CAP. LXI.

BISHOP HAY PARTIALLY RESTORED—DEATH OF HIS SISTER—ASKS LEAVE TO RESIGN—THE SAME GRANTED. 1805—CARDINAL ERSKINE, PROTECTOR—OBTAINS FOR MISSION AND SEMINARY A GRANT FROM PROPAGANDA—INJUSTICE OF NEAPOLITAN GOVERNMENT—THE BISHOPS FOR THE FIRST TIME ADDRESSED AS “MY LORDS”—BISHOP HAY TRANSFERS THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT OF THE LOWLAND DISTRICT TO HIS COADJUTOR—BISHOP CAMERON AT LISMORE—CONSECRATED BISHOP ÆNEAS CHISHOLM—CHANGES—REV. ANDREW SCOTT’S CAREER OF 40 YEARS AT GLASGOW COMMENCES—BISHOP HAY GRADUALLY DECLINING—REMEMBERS HIS FRIENDS—IN SEPTEMBER, 1807, SOME IMPROVEMENT—REMOVES TO EDINBURGH—DINES WITH AN OLD FRIEND—SITS FOR HIS PORTRAIT—RETURNS TO AQUORTIES—INDICATIONS OF MENTAL DECAY—STUDENTS FROM SPAIN AT THE SEMINARY—NEW CHURCH AT PAISLEY—JOY OF THE INFIRM BISHOP—IN 1810 HIS ILLNESS RAPIDLY INCREASES—IN APRIL, 1811, RECOVERS FROM A SEVERE ATTACK; BUT MENTAL POWER GONE—BY 14TH OCTOBER HIS LIFE WAS EBBING SLOWLY BUT

SURELY AWAY—NEXT DAY AT SIX O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING THE GREAT BISHOP PASSED AWAY PEACEFULLY, EXPIRING WITHOUT A STRUGGLE—LOSSES OF THE MISSION—DEATH OF CARDINAL ERSKINE—FUNERAL OF BISHOP HAY ATTENDED BY PROTESTANTS AS WELL AS CATHOLICS—HIS PLACE OF BURIAL—WORDS OF REVS. MESSRS. RATTRAY AND JAMES CARRUTHERS.

By March 9th (1805), Bishop Hay had so far recovered his powers as to be able to write a short autograph letter to Bishop Cameron, chiefly conveying the information that his sister, Miss Hay, had lately died, and praying that her soul might be remembered. Owing to the great feebleness of the writer, the writing is weak, blurred, blotted and misspelt.

Employing as his amanuensis Mr. Gordon, one of the masters of the Seminary, the Bishop once more begged permission to resign his office of Vicar-Apostolic, with its onerous duties. He, at the same time, requested a dispensation from the recitation of his office. He applied on this occasion first of all to the Scotch agent at Rome, begging him to make interest for him with Cardinal Erskine. The letter gives, at considerable length, the Bishop's reasons for desiring to resign. The twofold dispensation from the recitation of the Breviary together with the

duties of Vicar-Apostolic, was granted on June 16th at an audience of the Holy Father, *Ex Audientia S. Smi.*

When Mgr. Erskine became Cardinal Protector a brighter day appeared to have dawned for the Scotch mission and its College at Rome. His Eminence made strong representations in their favour, and not without beneficial results. Propaganda, in its renewed liberality, remitted to the Procurator at Edinburgh a grant of 1,770 crowns ; and the College affairs were so prosperous that its debts were in the course of being liquidated in a few months. The Cardinal also had it in view to obtain for the College the long-desired boon of National Superiors. There was a hope, moreover, of regaining the Neapolitan abbacies. It proved vain, however ; and to this day they have not been restored. At the founding of the College, Clement VIII. liberally bestowed funds, and moreover, endowed it with an abbey in Calabria, and another near Benevento. Both together produced about £150 sterling yearly. The College remained in undisturbed possession of these benefices until the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Kingdom of Naples. They were, on occasion of that event, seized by the Crown as Jesuits' property. The Neapolitan Government ever since has found pretexts for refusing to restore them. This information was communicated

by the agent at Rome to the Bishops, in a letter of 13th of April, 1805. It may be remarked that this is the first letter of those times, in which we find the Bishops addressed "My Lords," the letter ending with "My Lords, Your Lordships' most obedient, etc." It is addressed to the Right Reverend Dr. George Hay ; Right Reverend Dr. John Chisholm ; Right Reverend Dr. Alexander Cameron ; Right Reverend Dr. Æneas Chisholm.

Towards the end of July Bishop Cameron visited Aquorties. Bishop Hay was at that time able to walk with him to Fetternear, two miles distant, and to return on foot after tea, without being much fatigued. Before they separated, the Bishop, in a formal document, transferred the whole government of the Lowland Vicariate to his coadjutor.

Bishop Cameron continued his journey to the Highland Seminary of Lismore, where he consecrated Bishop Æneas Chisholm on the 15th of September. A few days later the annual letters to Rome were prepared and signed, but for the first time without the name of Bishop Hay. And now some noteworthy changes took place. Mr. John Reid withdrew from the mission of Preshome, Mr. James Carruthers taking his place. Mr. Andrew Scott, succeeding Mr. Farquarson, commenced his career of successful labour at Glasgow, which was only

closed by his death forty years later. Mr. James Robertson, who had the reputation of being somewhat eccentric, became a professor at the College of Maynooth with the title of doctor.

The Bishop's physical strength appeared to improve. One day in October of this year, he walked to Fetternear in order to see a workman who had been run over by a cart and severely bruised. In less than two hours he returned to the Seminary. His mind was more at ease, the students giving less cause of anxiety than they had done for some time. The masters did all in their power to promote his comfort, providing him with a bell, and adding a double door to his room, which caused all noises from without to be less heard.

In May, 1806, the Bishop's strength was so far renewed that he undertook a journey to Edinburgh. The Bishops of the Highland district were there on his arrival, and his name appears along with theirs in the annual letters which they despatched, as usual, to Rome. Mr. John Gordon, head master of the Seminary, was his travelling companion ; and he returned home by Dundee towards the end of May, none the worse for his journey. Three weeks later, however, there came another slight shock of paralysis, which weakened his limbs and temporarily impaired his speech. His vigorous constitution, nevertheless,

carried him through. He felt uneasy as to what might happen in the ensuing winter. Meanwhile, he did not forget his friends. In one of his letters he desired to be remembered to his old friend, Dr. Wood, of Edinburgh. He often sent kindly messages to Madame Bonnette, who was now the mistress of a flourishing dancing academy at Edinburgh. In the beginning of August, the enemy made another attack. It was slight, but lasted longer than the former one. He soon recovered through an application of the anodyne plaster. Bishop Cameron showed his concern and his anxiety for the infirm Bishop's welfare, by writing to the Superiors of the Seminary a very feeling letter, in which he urged on all, students as well as professors, the duty of bestowing the greatest care in alleviating the sufferings of the invalid. The same anxiety was manifested by Bishop Cameron on occasion of a visit to the Seminary in the autumn. He gave two of the students written directions regarding their attendance on the infirm Bishop. The latter, hearing of this, asked to see the paper, and appeared to be pleased with it. The young men then requested him to name certain times in the day when they might go to his room and see whether he wanted anything. He did not wish them to come to him too often, as long as he could walk about. They insisted on the instructions of

Bishop Cameron, interpreting them as an order to visit Bishop Hay five or six times a day. He strongly objected to this, saying that Bishop Cameron must have forgotten that he had only to touch the bell for the maid-servant when he wanted anything. The students then dropped the subject, lest they should annoy the Bishop, but continued to visit him every day about noon, again at four o'clock and at seven, the master taking tea with him at five. Finally, the Bishop limited their visits to one, late in the evening, when he desired some good book to be read to him.

In September of this year (1807) Bishop Hay's health had so much improved as to enable him to remove to Edinburgh, in compliance with the advice of his physician, who considered Aquorties too damp a place for an invalid. Mr. Charles Gordon, of Aberdeen, accompanied him on the journey. He resided with Bishop Cameron in High School Yard, now known as Surgeon's Square. One day he was invited to dine with his old friend, Mr. Glendonwyn, and his daughters, at Simson's Hotel in Queen street. The Bishop accepted the invitation and went to dinner attended by a young priest, Mr. Thomson, who was afterwards the missionary priest of Ayr. In the course of the dinner the Bishop asked for a glass of sherry, and the servant, by mistake, gave him a glass of brandy. He had nearly swallowed the

contents of the glass before he discovered his mistake.

Mr. Thomson laughed aloud. The Bishop rebuked him severely, as he deserved, for his want of manners.

Bishop Hay, throughout his long career, could never be induced to sit for his portrait. He was now at last prevailed on, chiefly through the influence of the daughter of his late highly esteemed friend, Dr. Wood. This portrait, by Watson, is perhaps the best that has been preserved. It has been frequently engraved, and sometimes copied. There is another at the Scotch College of Rome, which was taken on occasion of his visit to the Papal City in 1782, when he was in full health.

The Bishop was much better for spending the winter in Edinburgh. In the first week of April he set out on his return journey to the Seminary, accompanied by the Reverend William Reid, of Stobhall, and later, of Dumfries, where he ended his long career. On reaching Aberdeen the Bishop felt a good deal exhausted, but he was so far restored by his night's rest as to be quite able to continue his journey to Aquorties the following day. On his arrival he gave the students a whole play-day in compliment to his travelling companion. This fact is noticeable as up to that time he had never done so much. It speaks also for the kindly manners of the late Mr. Reid, who had completely gained his

good will. Notwithstanding, it occurred to him that the latter was taking care of him, as indeed he was ; and he asked him why he was going North. Mr. Reid replied that he was going, in compliance with Bishop Cameron's request, to see how the farm at Aquorties looked. The Bishop was satisfied. But he remarked that if Mr. Reid had been going on his (the Bishop's) account he could have gone quite as well by himself.

There were now indications of that mental infirmity which continued till the final change. He found it difficult to understand why the hour hand of a watch did not go as fast as the minute hand. A few days earlier he mistook the evening for the morning, and instead of going to supper, went to the chapel with his stole on, waiting for Mass and Communion. He was able, notwithstanding, to compose a letter ; and he dictated a long one to Mrs. O'Donnell and her husband, expressing his gratitude to them for their kind attention to him during his recent visit to Edinburgh, and assuring them that they had his warmest prayers for their welfare and prosperity.

The number of students at the Seminary was increased this year by the addition of those young men who had escaped from Valladolid under the guidance of Mr. Wallace. They resumed their studies, and their master was appointed to the charge of a class.

Bishop Hay was able to communicate all this to Bishop Cameron. Observing notice in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of the opening of a new church in Paisley, he made haste to assure Bishop Cameron that every one in the Seminary "was elated with joy on hearing of his success" on the occasion. From this time (1810) the progress of the Bishop's infirmities was painfully rapid. His bodily strength appeared to increase as his once powerful intellect declined. This was shown by a walk he undertook one day to Inverurie, where he remained all night at the inn. Next day it was found necessary to have recourse to a stratagem in order to bring him home. He was placed in a postchaise, ostensibly for going to Edinburgh. Finally it became necessary to employ force in order to prevent him from straying from home. In April, 1811, he was seized with an alarming illness in the night. It appeared so dangerous that Extreme Unction was administered. He rallied, however, before morning and continued to improve. But the torpidity in his countenance and the stupidity of expression were permanently increased. He passed the summer in the state of health now usual to him; but his mental powers were gone. Although now rapidly failing in strength, he was able to walk about a little, until the day before the last. In the afternoon of the 14th of October he was put to bed, and

remained totally unconscious till the end. Next day in the afternoon he was anointed by Mr. James Sharp. Life was ebbing away, surely but peacefully, and the great Bishop expired without a struggle at a quarter to six in the evening.

This was a sad year in the annals of the Catholics of Scotland. Bishop Hay ended his extraordinarily bright career in the dismal gloom of mental obscuratation; Mr. C. Maxwell was torn by death from the flock that he had served so well; and the mission was deprived forever of the support and invaluable services of the patriotic Cardinal Erskine, who died at Paris.

On the 21st of October took place the funeral of Bishop Hay. It was conducted in the most simple manner. The company walked from the College to the Cemetery. The Protestant community was well represented by Sir Alex. Grant, of Monymusk, Mr. Gordon, of Manar, and Mr. Harvey of Braco, together with the Ministers of Inverurie and of the Chapel of Garioch. There must also be mentioned the presence of Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, a chief friend and admirer of the deceased Bishop, and the Rev. John Reid. The students, attired in mourning, walked in procession to the place of interment; and when all was over, the company dined at the Seminary, Mr. Menzies occupying the chair. The place of burial selected was an

ancient cemetery picturesquely situated within the park of Fetternear house, on a steep bank round which flows the River Don. Within the enclosure set apart for deceased members of the Leslie family were laid the remains of the departed Bishop. A Chapel has since been erected there ; and in the south transept is enclosed the grave of Bishop Hay. The eminent Bishop, who did so much by his indefatigable labours to restore the Catholic religion in Scotland, needs no panegyric. It may not be out of place, however, to quote the words of two venerable priests, which were written in reply to the circular letter announcing the Bishop's death. The Rev. Mr. Rattray says : " The venerable Bishop Hay has gone to receive the reward of his long and faithful labours in the vineyard of Christ. He certainly proved by his learning and his bright example of all virtues, while among us, a most signal blessing to that vineyard ; and now, we have every reason to believe, he is where he can and where he will still render it service ; for his soul was holy, and most zealous for the divine honour." The Rev. James Carruthers, a meritorious historian, expresses similar sentiments, although in fewer words : " The exit of our most worthy and ever-to-be revered Father, Bishop Hay, although with good reason it has awakened the most lively feelings, was certainly a

desirable event. The purification, I trust, was completed, and the veil dropped to afford easy access to the sanctuary. Yet the tribute we pay is exacted by gratitude and justice."

CAP. LXII.

BIRTH OF BISHOP CAMERON—IN HIGH FAVOUR AT ROME—VERY SUCCESSFUL STUDIES—HIS PATRIOTISM—HIS FIRST MISSION, STRATHDOWN—IN 1780 PRINCIPAL AT VALLADOLID—HIGHLY ESTEEMED—IN 1798 CONSECRATED BISHOP AT MADRID—SEVERAL YEARS IN SPAIN OFFICIATING AS BISHOP OF VALLADOLID—COMMISSION FROM COURT OF SPAIN REGARDING THE IRISH COLLEGE OF SALAMANCA—EVERYTHING SETTLED TO THE SATISFACTION OF ALL PARTIES—URGED BY THE COURT OF MADRID TO REMAIN AS A BISHOP IN SPAIN—RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—AT ONCE VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF THE LOWLAND DISTRICT—RESIDES AT EDINBURGH—RESULTS OF HIS LABOURS AND HIS PREACHING—GREAT ABILITY, EXTENSIVE LEARNING AND REFINED MANNERS—PUTS AN END TO A BANK PANIC—BUILDS ST. MARY'S CHURCH—SITE MOST JUDICIOUSLY CHOSEN—FOSTERS THE SEMINARY OF AQUORTIES—REV. ALEX. PATERSON, COADJUTOR—ON OCCASION OF THAT "CAUSE CELEBRE," SCOTT VS. M'GAVIN, BISHOP CAMERON HONOURED BY THE JUDGES OF THE LAND—IN 1825 STRUCK WITH APOPLEXY—IN 1828 ILL AGAIN—IN FEBRUARY OF THE SAME YEAR, A CALM AND PEACEFUL DEATH

ENDED HIS BRIGHT CAREER—BISHOP ÆNEAS
CHISHOLM COADJUTOR IN THE HIGHLANDS—
SUCCEEDS HIS BROTHER AS VICAR APOSTOLIC—
DIED JULY 31ST 1818.

BISHOP CAMERON.

Auchindryne in Bræmar, Aberdeenshire, was the birthplace of this distinguished Bishop. July 28th, 1747, was the date of his birth. His earlier studies were at Scalan; and philosophy and theology he studied at Rome. He enjoyed great favour in the Papal City not only on account of his great abilities, but also through the influence of Cardinal York. His parentage recommended him to this eminent member of the exiled Royal Family. In 1715 his father held a commission in the army that was raised in the interest of the Cardinal's banished father; and in 1745, although unable to take the field himself, he sent two substitutes to serve in the army of Prince Charles. Mr. Cameron remained eight years at Rome, pursuing the higher branches of ecclesiastical study. He was eminently successful; more so than all his class fellows. It is not, therefore, surprising that he won the first prizes, and that the Jesuits, who directed his studies, did all in their power to induce him to join their Society. Notwithstanding the length of time he was at Rome, he was only at the second year of his theology when the scarcity of

missionary priests in Scotland required that he should be ordained and undertake duty in his native land. He was, accordingly, raised to the priesthood on the 2nd February, 1772, when he returned to Scotland and was appointed to the mission of Strathavon. There he laboured with great acceptance, gaining the good will and esteem of all, Protestants as well as Catholics, till 1780, when he was nominated Principal of the Scotch College at Valladolid by his predecessor in the Episcopacy, Bishop Hay. There, as in Rome, his superior talents and friendly manners won for him many friends, among whom were the chief characters of the ancient and still important city. Valladolid was then, and it is to-day, the Capital of old Castile. It is also the seat of an ancient and renowned University, of a Court of Chancery, and of a Bishop's See.

There likewise is the residence of the Captain-General of the Province, The opinion and advice of the Scotch rector were often sought and followed in affairs of public importance. On his arrival in Spain he knew not a word of the language of that country; but, under this disadvantage, his ability once more served him well; and he not only learned the Spanish tongue, but also acquired a thoroughly correct pronunciation, so that Spaniards themselves could not from his speech, discover that he was a

foreigner. The business of the College required that he should repair to Madrid. He was introduced there to the leading men at Court, and was by them cordially received, especially by Count Compamanes, Governor of the Council of Castile, who ever afterwards treated him with marked attention. In 1797, when the increasing infirmities of Bishop Geddes rendered him unable any longer to exercise his episcopal duties, Bishop Hay proposed Mr. Cameron to fill his place as coadjutor. Briefs appointing him to this office, with the title of Bishop of Maximianopolis, were received on the 19th September of the year mentioned, and on 28th October, 1798, he was consecrated at Madrid. He remained in Spain for some years after his consecration; and, in compliance with the request of the aged and infirm Bishop of Valladolid, he performed, during the period of his stay, the whole episcopal duty of that diocese. While so acting he was commissioned by the Spanish Court to inquire into and settle very serious differences that had arisen between the rector and students of the Irish College in Salamanca. This commission he executed with consummate prudence and ability. After a patient investigation, he arranged everything to the complete satisfaction of the Court, of the rector, Dr. Curtis, Archbishop of Armagh, and of the students, many of whom after-

wards signalized their zeal in the land of their nativity. In 1802, Mr. Cameron, although urged by the Court of Madrid to remain in Spain, returned to Scotland. The whole charge of the Lowland district at once fell to his share, Bishop Hay's infirmities obliging him to resign the office of Vicar-Apostolic. It is not surprising that in the midst of the troubles which surrounded him, he was wont to consider the years that he had passed in Spain as the happiest of his life, and that he often expressed his intention to return to that Catholic country and end his days in the Scotch College. He appeared, however, to have given up this idea some time before his death. He was frequently spoken of at Valladolid, and always in terms of well-deserved praise.

His residence was now at Edinburgh ; and the Catholics of that capital and the country generally may well claim to date a new era from the day that he first appeared amongst them as their Bishop. He had indeed entered on a new and very different field from that in which he had hitherto been called upon to act. There was no longer for him the Catholic nation and the friendly court. A cloud of hostile prejudice overhung his native land. The people, still untaught by all the experience they had passed through, cherished their ancient hatred of the Catholic faith. So great an evil, the enlightened

Bishop was persuaded, could only be lessened, if not wholly remedied, by returning, not evil for evil, but, on the contrary, good for evil. To this task the wise pastor applied all his energy. Highly gifted as a preacher, he was indefatigable in spreading instruction. Such efforts were, in a great measure, confined to his parishioners. But through them, and by means of occasional attendance on the part of less bigoted Protestants, his preaching was so far effectual and light was made to shine in dark places. His personal demeanour was even more powerful than his eloquence. It conciliated for him good will in Scotland as it had done in Spain. Respect and admiration increased as his career wore on. His great ability, extensive learning and refined manners, brought him into relation with the higher circles of society and won their esteem, whilst, by rendering himself accessible to all, and by kindly dealing with them, he became a favourite with the more humble classes. The writer has heard the late Rev. Alex. Badenoch relate a circumstance which shows how popular the Bishop had become at Edinburgh. There was a panic at the bank of his friend, Sir William Forbes. Hearing of it, he gathered up whatever money he could find about the house, and hastened to the bank. But *cui bono*? The dense crowd of panic-struck depositors rendered all approach impossible. He succeeded

in getting some one to listen to him. This person, on hearing that he was going to bank a few hundred pounds, told his next neighbours ; and so it spread among the eager crowd. A way was made and it was seen by all that it was no other than Bishop Cameron who was going to place money in the bank. So prudent a man could not trust his money to a ruined bank. So thought the people ; and the panic was at an end.

At the time of Bishop Cameron's accession to office, the numbers and importance of the Catholic people had greatly outgrown their church accommodation. The churches, or chapels as they were called, were almost all of a very humble kind and not sufficiently large to accommodate the congregations that resorted to them. This was a serious hindrance to the growth and even the maintenance of religion. The Bishop laboured assiduously and with all the energy of his powerful mind to remedy this evil ; and his success was all that could be expected at the time at which he lived. The Church of St. Mary, Edinburgh, at present in use as the Cathedral of the Archdiocese of St. Andrews and Edinburgh in the restored hierarchy, shows with what judgment, good taste and perseverance he proceeded. The site for this church was admirably chosen near the fashionable dwellings of Picardy Place

and York Place, the great highway from Edinburgh to the Port of Leith and the important thoroughfare of Broughton Street. All this, notwithstanding, the Church was capable of being concealed. It was placed fronting Broughton Street, but so far back from it as to admit of a row of dwelling houses between it and the thoroughfare, in case of hostility arising. No such hostility as would have required this precaution ever occurred ; and the open ground in front, itself an ornament, allows the handsome façade to be seen. The Bishop, anxious that the church should be in keeping with the improved architecture of the modern capital, had recourse to the services of an architect of known ability and taste, Mr. Gillespie Graham, than whom none was more thought of at the time. This accounts for the really church-like appearance of the edifice, of which it is not too much to say that it was an auspicious beginning of the still more ecclesiastical architecture that came into vogue through the genius and enthusiasm of Mr. Pugin.

Next to providing suitable churches, came the care of finding priests to minister in them. This care was not neglected by Bishop Cameron. In pursuance of it he paid the greatest attention to the Seminary of Aquorties. When the charge of that institution was laid upon him, as coadjutor, by his

predecessor, who founded it in 1799, the latter earnestly besought him to watch over its interests. This admonition Bishop Cameron never lost sight of. He was wont to say that "Aquorties was the apple of his eye," and his conduct in regard to it clearly showed that he spoke sincerely. He took care that the Seminary should have pious and learned professors; he furnished the library at great cost with the most useful and approved works, both ancient and modern; he gave special attention to the comfort of the students, and he laid out large sums of money in improving the farm. At last, when he resolved on resigning the charge of the district to a coadjutor, the idea of giving up the superintendence of Aquorties appeared to cost him more than anything else, so great was his solicitude for its welfare.

In 1815, desiring to have a coadjutor, he personally consulted each of the priests as to who should be chosen, and their choice, as well as his own, falling on the Rev. Alexander Paterson, at that time the priest of Paisley, this most worthy clergyman was nominated coadjutor and consecrated Bishop by Bishop Cameron the following year.

On occasion of the case, *Scott vs. McGavin*, it was shown how little Bishop Cameron trusted to the better feeling of the populace of large towns, and this was as late as the year 1821. Mr. Scott came to

Edinburgh in order to consult the Bishop as to the expediency of prosecuting the man who had grossly calumniated him in a periodical of which the libeller was editor. The Bishop was opposed to prosecution on the ground that there was too much bigotry at Glasgow to find a jury that would convict, however clear the evidence. Mr. Scott represented that if he did not prosecute, he could not remain in Glasgow ; and if a verdict could not be obtained, no worse consequence would ensue. Although the Bishop could not approve of bringing an action against the libeller, he did not forbid it to be done ; and Mr. Scott proceeded with the case. Bigotry, notwithstanding, there existed, as there always does exist in the minds of the Scotch people, a sense of justice ; and the Jury unanimously found a verdict of guilty against the libeller. At the trial Bishop Cameron was examined as a witness. His evidence being concluded, Lord Gillies, the presiding Judge, invited the Bishop, if he wished to remain in Court, to take a seat on the Bench. This was a compliment—a mark of honour—for which the excellent Bishop was not prepared. He was not, however, such a tyro in the ways of mankind as not to accept the learned Judge's politeness. There were extreme people in the Court of the calumniating editor's persuasion, who are said to have been horror-struck. The celebrated Lord

Jeffrey was counsel for Mr. Scott ; and distinguished himself by a singularly able speech.

In the closing years of his episcopal career Bishop Cameron was greatly impeded in the exercise of his sacred duties by serious illness. In 1825 he was seized with apoplexy. Few survive such attacks ; and in his case it nearly proved fatal. Contrary to all expectation, however, he was soon convalescent ; and had so far recovered from the effects of the shock, both as regarded his physical strength and mental power, as to be able to interest himself, as was his wont, in the general affairs of the Vicariate, promoting with all his energy its welfare and prosperity. Three years later the end was seen to approach. On the 29th of January, 1828, he caught cold, as was supposed, and nothing worse was apprehended. But, on the following day, his physician, Dr. Ross, who thoroughly understood his constitution, declared him to be in imminent danger. He was better and worse alternately, for another month. But on the 7th February the great change unmistakably approached, and shortly before midnight of that date, he departed this life in peace, and to all appearance, with little or no painful struggle. He was surrounded till the last by faithful friends, and enjoyed all the consolation that religion could impart. His place of interment was under the Gospel

end of the altar of St. Mary's Church, now the pro-Cathedral of the Archdiocese of St. Andrew's and Edinburgh. It is noteworthy, as indicating an improved state of popular sentiment, that the funeral was conducted publicly according to the rites of the Church. It was the first time that such a service, with the appropriate ceremonial, had been performed in Scotland since the "Reformation."

Æneas Chisholm was a native of Strathglass, Inverness-shire. Having completed his studies at Valladolid, he was ordained there in the year 1783. In May, 1785, he became one of the masters of that College; and from thence he was transferred, in 1786, to the College of Douai, where he filled the office of Prefect of Studies till the autumn of 1789, when he came to the mission of Scotland and was stationed in Strathglass. On the first of August, 1803, a postulation was despatched to Rome, praying that he should be appointed coadjutor to his brother, Bishop John Chisholm. In compliance with this request, Briefs nominating him Bishop of Diocesarea and coadjutor Vicar-Apostolic of the Highland district were expedited on the 19th of May, 1804. The scarcity of priests, however, rendered it necessary that he should do duty as a missionary till the 15th September, 1805, when he was consecrated by Bishop Cameron at Lismore. In 1814 he succeeded his brother as

Vicar-Apostolic. His pontificate was not of long duration. There was hardly time to appreciate, as they deserved, his zeal and apostolic labours, when he died at Lismore on the 31st of July, 1818. He was buried with appropriate funeral honours in the Island Cemetery.

CAP. LXIII.

BIRTH OF BISHOP PATERSON—SUB-PRINCIPAL OF HIS COLLEGE BEFORE HIS STUDIES WERE FINISHED—HIS FIRST MISSION, TOMBÆ—IN GREAT HONOUR THERE—DEVOTED TO THE POOR—FOUR YEARS' LABOUR AT PAISLEY—COADJUTOR—CONSECRATED AT PAISLEY—DEPUTED TO RECOVER THE SCOTCH PROPERTIES IN FRANCE—HIS SKILL IN NEGOTIATION FINALLY PREVAILS—RECOVERS ALSO FOR THE IRISH COLLEGE—TRANSFERS THE TWO COLLEGES TO BLAIRS—SUCCESS OF BLAIRS—THREE DISTRICTS IN PLACE OF TWO—BISHOP PATERSON RETAINS THE EASTERN DISTRICT, WITH RESIDENCE AT EDINBURGH—IN 1828 SUCCEEDS BISHOP CAMERON—THE SAME YEAR CONSECRATES REV. ANDREW SCOTT—RECOVERS THE FUNDS IN FRANCE OF THE SCOTCH MISSION—PROMOTES EDUCATION—“CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION”—DEATH OF BISHOP PATERSON—THE EX-KING AND ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE, CARDINAL LATIL, BISHOPS SCOTT AND KYLE, TOGETHER WITH OTHER DISTINGUISHED ECCLESIASTICS, ATTEND HIS FUNERAL—APOSTOLIC CHARACTER OF DECEASED BISHOP—BISHOP RONALD M'DONALD—SUCCESS OF HIS EARLY STUDIES—SUCCEEDS BISHOP ÆNEAS CHISHOLM—HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS—RELIC OF IONA—IONA.

BISHOP PATERSON

Was one of those distinguished ecclesiastics whom the mission owed to the Catholic Enzie. He was born at Pathhead, in that country, in March, 1766. In his youth he spent a year of study at the Seminary of Scalán. At the age of thirteen he entered the College at Douai, and remained there till that house was broken up by the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1793. The great ability of which Mr. Paterson gave proof and the unexceptionable conduct which graced his early years won for him the favour of his seniors ; and he was appointed sub-Principal of the College before he reached the end of the time usually allotted to study. On returning to Scotland he was stationed at Tombæ, Banffshire, and remained there till 1812. In the remote district which became the scene of his labours, he was looked upon as nothing less than an oracle, by the Protestant as well as the Catholic community. More than this, he ever showed himself the friend and protector of the poor. In this relation he was powerful, and accomplished much good, having great influence with the Duke of Gordon and other local proprietors. Paisley, where missionary duty was onerous in the extreme, was his next mission. He had been there only four years when he was nominated Bishop of Cybistra and coadjutor, with right of succession to Bishop Cameron. The consecration

took place at Paisley. The French Revolutionists, not satisfied with breaking up the Scotch Colleges at Paris and Douai, seized and confiscated all the properties connected with them. It was hoped that under the rule of a more regular government those properties might, in a great measure, be recovered. Here was a field for the diplomatic ability of the learned Bishop. In the year 1821, accordingly, he repaired to Paris and commenced the difficult work of negotiation. He was vigorously opposed by a board consisting of both French and Irish members. But with all their ingenuity and cunning contrivances, they were no match for the skill and diplomatic power of the Bishop. They were completely baffled ; and the greatest success possible in the circumstances was achieved on behalf of the mission. All the confiscated property of the Scotch Colleges in France that had not been sold under Revolutionary Governments was recovered. On the same occasion the Bishop bestowed his efforts in regaining for the Irish College its confiscated property, and with the like success.

Bishop Paterson conceived the happy idea of uniting the two Colleges of the Highlands and the Lowlands, in order that there might be one thoroughly efficient College. He lost no time in taking measures for carrying out this laudable design, and he was

cordially and ably seconded by the late John Menzies, Esquire, of Pitfodels. This Catholic gentleman liberally presented the fine estate of Blairs, in Kincardineshire, six hundred acres in extent, and beautifully situated on the right bank of the river Dee, six miles from Aberdeen. The mansion house was enlarged and adapted for the purposes of a College. There remained only to transfer to it the establishments of Lismore and Aquorties. This was happily done ; and a Seminary for all Scotland was at once in full operation. It was prosperous at its commencement ; and it continues to prosper. Two Bishops and an Archbishop have already sprung from the ranks of its alumni, together with others who have won distinction in their ecclesiastical career.

It is said to be an evil to multiply princes. But this saying does not apply to the princes of the Church, who are the shepherds of the flock, appointed to guard them and lead them into wholesome pastures. The more they are multiplied, therefore, the better are the sheep of the fold protected and sustained by the salutary food of sound doctrine. Such considerations as well as the actual necessities of the mission called for the presence in Scotland of a third Bishop. With this end in view, the country was divided into three missionary districts. These divisions were termed, respectively, the Eastern,

Western and Northern Vicariates Apostolic. In 1826 the Bishop visited Rome in order to obtain Papal sanction for this arrangement and the appointment of a Bishop. In February, 1828, he succeeded the deceased Bishop Cameron as Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowland district. In September of the same year he consecrated the Rev. Andrew Scott, who became Vicar-Apostolic of the Western district in succession to Bishop McDonald, the Rev. James Kyle appointed Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern district, and reserved for himself the Eastern and not least important division of the country. On occasion of his visit to Rome he was appointed a domestic chaplain to His Holiness the Pope.

The French revolution of 1830 caused the students of the Scotch mission who were pursuing their studies at Paris to return home. Bishop Paterson, regardless of personal danger, proceeded to Paris in September of the same year, in order to save if it were possible the college funds belonging to the Scotch mission from alienation. His success was great, beyond all expectation ; so much so that he obtained from the existing Government the same management of the funds in question that he had exercised under the reign of Charles X. In consequence of this arrangement the students were enabled to return to Paris and recommence their studies.

During the last three years of his life the Bishop resided chiefly at Edinburgh. Notwithstanding the various occupations that necessarily claimed his time, he was able to keep the Church in good repair and even add to its decorations. The cause of education had its due share of attention. None understood better how advantageous sound education was to the Catholics of his charge and the rising Church of his country. At the period of his untimely death he was engaged in devising measures for the improvement of the Catholic schools and establishing them in a state of greater efficiency and respectability.

The final deliverance of the Catholics of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from almost all the remaining legal disabilities took place during the pontificate of Bishop Paterson. The "Catholic Emancipation Bill," as it was called, passed through both Houses of Parliament and received the Royal Assent, after having surmounted all the difficulties that were thrown in its way, by the still existing bigotry of the country. It was at last conceded to the fears, rather than granted by the liberality and good will of Parliament. The words of the Duke of Wellington leave no doubt as to this unpleasant historical fact. In moving the second reading of the bill in the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington said: "My Lords, I am one of those who have

probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war ; and I must say this, that if I could avoid by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. I say there is nothing that destroys property and prosperity and demoralizes character to the degree that civil war does ; by it the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother and against his father ; the servant betrays his master, and the whole scene ends in confusion and devastation. Yet, my lords, this is the resource to which we must have looked, these are the means to which we must have applied in order to have put an end to this state of things if we had not made the option of bringing forward the measures for which I hold myself responsible." The eminent statesman, Sir Robert Peel, in his memoirs, corroborates the testimony of the immortal Wellington : " I can with truth affirm, as I do solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God, ' to whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid,' that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829, I was swayed by no fear except the fear of public calamity, and that I acted throughout on a deep conviction that those measures were not only conducive to the general

welfare but that they had become imperatively necessary in order to avert from interests which had a special claim upon my support, the interests of the Church and of institutions connected with the Church—an imminent and increasing danger.”

The great change, with its accompanying circumstances, must now be recorded. On Friday, 28th October, 1831, Bishop Paterson left Edinburgh for Dundee, in order to conduct the services in the latter city on occasion of a contribution being raised towards the funds of the Infirmary of that place. On the following Sunday the Bishop celebrated and preached after Mass. The Church was crowded, many respectable Protestants being present. The Bishop's dignified appearance in his gorgeous episcopal robes, together with his earnest words, produced a most favourable impression. His text was from that passage of the prophet psalmist; “*Blessed is he who considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble.*” He made a powerful appeal to the feeling of his audience in favour of the excellent Institution in behalf of which he was preaching. Speaking of the liberality which distinguished the management of this Institution, he said: “Thanks to the liberal enactments of our Legislature the day has now gone by when it was enquired of our suffering fellow-brethren, whether they were Protestant or

Catholic." In another part of his sermon, as if anticipating what was so soon to happen, he said : "Let not your hearts be deluded by the love of that wealth which perisheth, let not your eyes be dazzled by the glittering of gold or silver. All these shall soon pass away. You and I shall soon have to appear before the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge to give an account of the use which we have made of the mammon of this world ; and nothing shall remain except what we shall have employed in relieving the miseries of the distressed." Towards the close of his discourse, which was about three-quarters of an hour in length, his voice began to falter. Nevertheless, he was able to conclude with a glowing eulogium of the Infirmary, and insisted on the necessity of contributing towards the relief and comfort of those who, though now laid on a bed of sickness, had perhaps seen better days. He withdrew from the pulpit a little after one o'clock. On entering the vestry, he complained of a violent pain in his head, and a few moments later he exclaimed : "*O God, I am dying ! O God, have mercy on my soul.*" In five minutes more, he was speechless. A physician was speedily called, who bled him profusely ; but the bleeding gave him no relief. The Sacraments of the dying were then administered ; and at twenty minutes past four o'clock he expired, thus

departing to his reward, whilst humanely and charitably labouring to promote the relief of the poor and afflicted.

In compliance with the wish of the deceased Bishop's friends, his remains were conveyed to Edinburgh, with the purpose of being laid at rest in his own church. An apartment of the Episcopal residence was appropriately prepared; and there, according to the rites of the Church, the body lay for some time, arrayed in pontifical robes with mitre, cross, ring and crosier. Among the numbers who came to pay a last tribute of respect to the departed were the ex-King, Charles X., and the Royal Family of France. The funeral service was performed in St. Mary's Church; and so great was the desire to be present that it was found necessary to issue tickets of admission. His Eminence Cardinal Latil and the Right Rev. Bishops Scott and Kyle participated in the solemn obsequies. The Rev. William Reid, assisted by the Rev. John Murdoch, afterwards Bishop in the West, and the Rev. James McKay, who died lately at a very advanced age, celebrated the Mass of Requiem. The Rev. Alex. Badenoch, with the fine feeling for which he was remarkable, delivered an appropriate funeral discourse; and when all the ceremonies prescribed by the Ritual were concluded,

the body was reverently consigned to its final resting place.

It is but justice to Bishop Paterson to say that he assiduously employed his abilities, which were of a high, if not perhaps of the very highest order, in promoting the good of the Church and the welfare of his fellow-Catholics. He was of the strictest principle, and never swerved from what he believed to be true and just. He generally formed his resolutions with exquisite judgment and carried them out, not unfrequently in the face of formidable opposition, with unflinching firmness. His negotiations in regard to the Scotch property in France, which proved so successful, showed that he was possessed in no small degree of diplomatic skill. At home the simplicity of his life, his kindly manners and truly apostolic character, gave him an influence which nothing could resist. He was an enemy to controversial disputation, which seldom results in conviction, but, on the contrary, widens the breaches, already unhappily existing between Christians. Such discussions are scarcely ever conducted with that coolness and regard to charity, which alone could render them useful and instructive. Hence, the venerable Bishop believed that they militated against that mutual forbearance and good-will among all classes and denominations which he constantly preached.

RANALD M'DONALD, (1820-1832).

This Prelate, although born at Edinburgh, was of Highland parentage. In very early life he was sent to the Scotch College of Douai. He there passed through the usual course of study in a most creditable manner, becoming an excellent classical scholar. As soon as his studies were completed he was ordained priest and returned to his native country. From this time (1782), till he was raised to Episcopal dignity in 1820, he ceased not to discharge with exemplary zeal and more than ordinary ability the onerous duties of a missionary apostolic. His first station was in Glengairn, Aberdeenshire, where he laboured for a few years and was thence transferred to Glengarry. His next mission was in the Island of Uist, where there was a numerous and scattered congregation. On the demise of Bishop Æneas Chisholm he was nominated Bishop of Aeryndela and Vicar-Apostolic of the Highland district. The Briefs appointing him were issued in autumn, 1819, and he was consecrated Bishop by Bishop Paterson at Edinburgh towards the end of February, 1820. During his Episcopate he led a very secluded life ; but never lost that grace of manner which distinguishes the Christian gentleman. Although remote from what is called Society, he possessed more true refinement than many of those who spend their lives in the highest

circles. His attainments as a scholar were of the highest order; and, even in his old age, he could write and speak Latin with the utmost facility, purity and elegance. It was due to his literary acquirements that he was frequently called upon to act as secretary at the meetings of the clergy. Although it adds nothing to the merit of the accomplished Bishop, it is, nevertheless, illustrative of his time that he possessed a relic of Iona—Iona, that was so long the abode of the Apostolic Saint Columba, and whence he so often went forth to preach the Gospel to the barbarian Picts; Iona, that for centuries spread the light of religion, like a glory, over the surrounding lands; Iona, where for many generations were sepulchred the Kings of Scotland, and where lesser potentates, the Kings of the Isles, were often laid at rest with all the honours usually done to royalty; Iona, that, impervious to time and war, survived the depredations of the heathen Dane; Iona, the very thought of which and its holy associations so moved the critical mind of Doctor Johnson that he exclaimed: “That man is little to be envied whose devotion would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona!” Iona, the odour of whose centuries of excellence still hangs around its ruined walls; Iona, a place of pilgrimage, to which repair devout Catholics in order to offer up their prayers and renew

their fervour at the fallen temple and the broken shrine; Iona, the scattered stones of which, as if endowed with the eloquence of Columba, proclaim aloud the long discarded truth to an unbelieving nation.

CAP. LXIV.

GLENGARRY PRESENTS TO BISHOP M'DONALD THE GOLDEN CHALICE OF IONA—INTERESTING ACCOUNT AND DESCRIPTION OF THIS ANCIENT RELIC—BISHOP M'DONALD BECOMES VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF THE WESTERN DISTRICT—THE COLLEGE OF LISMORE TRANSFERRED TO BLAIRS—BISHOP M'DONALD HIGHLY ESTEEMED—BISHOP SCOTT COADJUTOR—STUDIED AT SCALAN, DOUAI AND ABERDEEN—HIS FIRST MISSION, DEECASTLE—AFTERWARDS AT HUNTLY—IN 1805 PASTOR OF THE IMPORTANT CONGREGATION OF GLASGOW—THE HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP M'DONALD—RAPID INCREASE OF GLASGOW'S CONGREGATION—HOSTILE PREJUDICES—ARDUOUS AND TRYING LABOURS—MR. SCOTT RESOLVES TO BUILD A CAPACIOUS CHURCH—A COMMERCIAL CRISIS IMPEDES THE WORK—THE PERSEVERANCE OF MR. SCOTT FINALLY SUCCESSFUL—THE NEW CHURCH FREQUENTED BY GREAT AND IMPOSING NUMBERS.

It was certainly a high privilege to possess a relic of Iona. It was the good fortune of Bishop McDonald to enjoy this privilege. Through the favour of his friend, Alexander Ranaldson McDonell

of Glengarry, he became the possessor of a chalice of gold which had served ten centuries, it is believed, in the Monastery of Iona. It must now be shown, how the precious relic came into the hands of Glengarry. His ancestor, in the time of King Charles II., was requested by his neighbour, McLean of Dewart, to assist him against some chief with whom he was at war. Glengarry, who, at the time, enjoyed the title of Lord McDonell and Aros, complied with the request, and proceeded, with five hundred of his warriors, to the assistance of his friend. On his arrival in McLean's country, he was honoured with a banquet, at which were used certain pieces of church plate, and among the rest, the chalice of Iona. Glengarry was shocked at this profanation of sacred things, and determined to return home, saying that no success could attend the arms of people who were so profane. McLean, on learning this, sent all the plate, as a present and propitiatory offering to Glengarry, beseeching him to remain and bestow his aid. The offended chief was so far propitiated as to allow his men to stay with McLean, but refused to remain himself, and immediately returned home. The chalice was safely held in the Glengarry family till the time of Alexander, already mentioned, who presented it to Bishop McDonald. A description of this remarkable chalice will be

found in Principal Sir Daniel Wilson's work, "Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland." A letter quoted in that work from the late Rev. William Gordon (the last head of the Glenbucket family) to the writer of these sketches, says that it was of solid gold, and evidently of great antiquity, as could be seen upon it the marks of the hammer which had beaten it into shape. The invaluable relic, associated with which were so many interesting memories, continued in the possession of Bishop Ranald McDonald until the end of his days, when it passed to his successor, Bishop Scott.

In 1826, Bishop Paterson had succeeded in obtaining the division of Scotland ecclesiastically into three Vicariates, designated as the Eastern, Western and Northern Districts. This measure, considering the circumstances and state of the missions, had become not only expedient, but necessary. On occasion of the change, Bishop McDonald became Vicar-Apostolic of the Western district, which comprised a considerable portion of the Highlands, which still remained under his jurisdiction. Thus, his title was changed, and, to a certain extent, the scene of his episcopal labours. About the same time he was relieved of the care of his Seminary at Lismore, that institution becoming united, chiefly through the agency of Bishop Paterson, with the College for the

Lowlands, now transferred from Aquorties to Blairs, on the river Dee, near Aberdeen, a property bestowed for the purpose by the late John Menzies, of Pitfodels.

Notwithstanding this partial relief, the labours of the Episcopate were so arduous that Bishop McDonald found it necessary to have a coadjutor. His choice fell on the Rev. Andrew Scott, whose merits were at once recognized by the clergy and the authorities at Rome. He was accordingly consecrated Bishop and entered on his duties as coadjutor Vicar-Apostolic of the Western district. Bishop McDonald, meanwhile, by his amiability of manner, and his kindness of heart, had won the esteem and affection of all, whether Catholics or Protestants, who came into relation with him. Such were his benevolence and attention to all around him that his society was much sought, and gave the greatest pleasure. He rejoiced in contributing to render others happy; and he found a source of happiness himself in diffusing cheerfulness and promoting innocent enjoyment. It is easily conceived, as is recorded of him, that he was greatly beloved as well as respected by persons of all persuasions. Some of the most eminent ministers of the established Kirk of Scotland were of the number of his personal and devoted friends. Hence, he did more by his way of life and conversation, as his record bears witness, to do away with religious pre-

judices and mitigate theological antipathies than any other man of his time. Towards the close of his life, unfortunately, he became almost totally blind. In consequence of this affliction, his coadjutor came to be invested with independent authority in governing the district. At last came the closing scene. The venerable Bishop departed this life on the 20th September, 1832, at Fortwilliam, Inverness-shire. The Right Reverend Bishop Scott, assisted by several priests of the neighbourhood, paid the last funeral honours and laid his remains at rest within the Catholic Church of Fortwilliam.

ANDREW SCOTT (1828-1846).

“There is the making of a priest in that little fellow.” Such were the words, which proved prophetic, concerning Andrew Scott, when only five years of age, spoken in his father’s house by an elderly missionary priest. The intelligent look of the “little fellow” elicited this remark; and it was to him as an oracle which he treasured up in his mind and never forgot. From that moment he resolved to be nothing less and nothing else than a priest, whatever impediments might be thrown in his way. He was a native of the Catholic Enzie, and born at Chapelford, on the 13th day of February, 1772. His application to study in his earlier years was attended with remarkable success. In February,

1785, he became an alumnus of the Seminary at Scalán, and was soon after sent to continue his ecclesiastical studies in the Scotch College at Douai. He resided there several years, and was distinguished no less by proficiency in his studies than by piety and edifying conduct. The French Revolution came, and he was obliged, along with his fellow students, to return to Scotland. He then once more became an inmate of the only Seminary in Scotland, the unpretending House of Scalán. His course of study for the priesthood was, however, completed at Aberdeen, under the guidance of the Rev. John Farquarson, formerly Principal of Douai College. He was ordained priest in that city by the venerable Bishop Hay, on the 25th day of March, 1795.

The missionary labours of Andrew Scott, which were destined to be so important, had a very humble commencement. As soon as he was ordained he was appointed to the retired mission of Dee Castle, in Aberdeenshire. The poor congregation then had, at the time, no suitable place for the celebration of public worship. There were on the banks of the River Dee, the ruined walls of an ancient castle. These walls Mr. Scott contrived to fashion into a church. Having thus gained experience in the art of architecture, he afterwards built a modest, but

convenient chapel and dwelling house under the same roof. In 1800 he was removed to the charge of the Huntly mission; and, as if five years were his destined time in each of the minor missions, he was appointed in 1805 to the mission of Glasgow, which, by this time had grown to large proportions, and which, through the truly Herculean labours of its new apostle, was destined so soon to surpass in numbers and importance all the missions of the country.

Previously to the appointment of Mr. Scott, the few Catholics of Glasgow were ministered to by the Reverend Alexander McDonell, who afterwards became the founder of a church in the new world, and was long known as the Hon. and Right Rev. Bishop of Kingston, in Canada. When this eminent priest proceeded on his new destination the Glasgow congregation came under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Farquarson. This zealous priest erected a church in the district called "the Calton." Although, at this time, Catholics were becoming numerous in Glasgow, they were under the necessity of living as retired as possible, such was still the danger, notwithstanding the better feeling towards them of the more intelligent citizens, lest the very fact of their numbers might become a cause of popular excitation. There were no traces of their religion in the villages and counties around the great commercial city, if unless,

indeed, we except the wreck of the cathedrals, monasteries, religious and educational houses that once adorned the land.

Meanwhile, Catholic Ireland contributed largely, as it still contributes, to promote the growth and importance of the Glasgow congregation. Mechanics of that country—skilled and unskilled workmen—sought the Scotch commercial city in order to find that employment which their native land denied them. The cotton trade had been successfully introduced into Glasgow, and hence those people found the occupation they so much needed. The new trade gave them their bread, and to the city wealth and aggrandizement. The Irish comers were at first exposed to much obloquy, not only on account of their country against which there existed an incredible amount of illiberal prejudice, but, more particularly still, on religious grounds, there being nothing so odious as “Popery” to the Presbyterian mind of the time. Such prejudices, however, proved only an ineffectual check ; and the industrious Irish, encouraged by the more enlightened manufacturing citizens, continued to flock into Glasgow, bearing with them the light of their reviled faith, which was destined, ere long, to shine amid the darkness and command universal respect.

To form these ever increasing elements into a well-disciplined, orderly and united congregation, was the gigantic task that lay before the zealous missionary; and he applied to it with all the strength and energy of a giant. The very inadequate church accommodation of that time was a serious impediment. A sort of garret chapel in a miserable, dingy lane connected with a street called the Gallowgate, was all the place of meeting which the Catholics possessed. Their numbers had increased; but they were far from being the imposing congregation which now consists of so great a proportion of the population of the immense commercial city. The list of Easter communicants amounted only to four hundred and fifty. Not many years had passed when it swelled into a roll of three thousand. This wonderful success was achieved partly by the earnestness and vigour with which Mr. Scott ceased not to preach the word of God; but more, perhaps, by his assiduity in hearing confessions and in visiting the sick. Such duties were far from being easily fulfilled. To sit the whole evening till a late hour, under a damp unwholesome roof, listening to the recital of the sins and cares and sorrows of his people, was sufficiently trying, but it was more so still, through the darkness of night, and often in the most inclement weather, to toil along the streets and lanes to the most wretched

hovels of the poor, bend over the fever-stricken, in danger every moment of inhaling the poisoned breath of pestilence, and confronting death itself while mitigating its terrors. It is impossible to imagine a more trying, and at the same time, a more consoling labour. And well it was that it should bear with it its consolation and its fruit ; for, in the case of Mr. Scott, the only reward the world offered consisted of the sneers and taunts of bigotry, the scoffing of the ungodly and the hooting of the ignorant rabble. There was no security often against personal violence, except through the escort of some faithful friend. Every day new difficulties arose, but only to be surmounted by undaunted courage and success. Not the least of these was one occasioned by the necessities of the mission, and which it behoved the zealous priest to meet. The Calton Chapel, as it was called, had become too small for the greatly augmented congregation. Thousands of poor Catholics were excluded from its narrow precincts, and, as each succeeding Sunday came round, instead of participating along with their brethren in the joyful celebration of the Sacred Mysteries, could think only in sadness and disappointment of the land of their fathers and its numerous altars where so many joyfully partook of the Bread of Life. The narrow and humble chapel must be replaced by a capa-

cious church. But how was this to be done? Only Mr. Scott could conceive the possibility of such a work. Relying on the generosity of his numerous but comparatively poor congregation, his own energy and the aid of Heaven, he undertook the building of St. Andrew's Church in a conspicuous part of the great city—Great Clyde Street. There were many, meanwhile, who, taking credit to themselves for superior wisdom, condemned the undertaking as rash and inconsiderate, and which could only tend to humiliation and the injury of religion. The goodly work, nevertheless, was boldly undertaken, and proceeded with rapidity and success while scarcely any other aid was bestowed save the pennies of the poor, so liberally offered in ever-increasing abundance. This liberality was the more noteworthy as a great commercial crisis had overtaken Glasgow. Public credit was shaken, business came to a stand, wages were reduced, and the price of food increased. The Catholics were dismayed. They looked with sorrowful eyes on the unfinished walls, and dreaded their becoming a ruin instead of growing into a stately church. One alone was not discouraged. Mr. Scott still persevered, hoping against hope. In a short time, notwithstanding all but insuperable difficulties, the sacred edifice was completed, and stood forth a noble monument of apostolic zeal and the devoted generosity of

a Catholic people, while, if it did not excel, it was not unworthy of the splendid minister which survives entire the wear of time and the violence of fanatic rage. There was no mistaking the proof which this labour of love afforded, that the Catholics of Glasgow could no longer be treated as outcasts whom it was safe to jeer and insult. They now assembled in imposing numbers. The thousands that poured every Sunday from the grand portal of St. Andrew's Church, were indeed a type of that Universal Church which the beloved disciple beheld in prophetic vision.

CAP. LXV.

EDUCATION AT GLASGOW—A FAR SEEING MEASURE—
EMINENTLY SUCCESSFUL—A CELEBRATED TRIAL
SCOTT VS. M'GAVIN—JUST VERDICT—SEVERE PARO-
CHIAL LABOUR—MR. SCOTT EQUAL TO THE OCCA-
SION—TEMPORAL BUSINESS—RELIEF OF DISTRESS
—MR. SCOTT, COMFORTER OF THE AFFLICTED
AND FRIEND OF THE CLERGY—A TROUBLESOME
ASSOCIATION—THE SAME DECLARED ILLEGAL ON
THE AUTHORITY OF DANIEL O'CONNELL—SCHIS-
MATIC ALSO AND HERETICAL—MR. SCOTT HIGHLY
ESTEEMED—THE DEFENDER OF HIS PEOPLE—HIS
SUCCESS AS LEGAL COUNSEL.

While the Catholics of Glasgow were rejoicing over the successful completion of the house of God there arose another want which caused no slight anxiety to the zealous pastor. There were no means for educating the numerous children of the flock. Hundreds of them were clamouring for the bread of instruction ; and there was none to break it to them. Hence, in a manner, coerced, Mr. Scott was obliged to choose between the certainty of vice and some degree of danger as regarded purity of faith. The measure he adopted was, indeed, a bold one ; and did

not remain unquestioned. By many it was even declared to be inadmissible. The experience of many years, however, has pronounced in its favour—shown that it bore not with it the dreaded evil, while it resulted in incalculable good, and proved to be the resolve of a far-seeing and no ordinary mind. An offer had been made of Protestant co-operation, on condition that the Protestant version of the Scriptures should be introduced into the schools that were to be established. As the teachers were to be members of the congregation who could point out to their pupils and warn them as regarded the passages of the Protestant Bible complained of by Catholics, and which tended to sustain a few of the Protestant views, the faithful pastor found it less difficult to overcome his reluctance to allow the objectionable version to be read in the schools; and, rather than see so many children, the hope of his rising flock, abandoned to ignorance and vice, he gave his consent. The result was that many of those that were without, came forward with donations of money and books, making at the same time, kind and liberal speeches on the grand subject of dispensing unto all the blessings of education. There appears to have been no difficulty in having Catholic teachers appointed; and, for the first time since the days of Knox, there existed Catholic schools at Glasgow. This was indeed a

great and most beneficial achievement. Far from corrupting the faith of the Catholic youth, it gave to the future a well-instructed congregation, every member of which was prepared "to give a reason for the faith that was in him." Extensive school premises were obtained in Portugal Street and permanently secured to religion, being converted into a church under the invocation of St. John. Meanwhile, they were admirably adapted to receive the numerous children that flocked to them. Such was the "Gorbals School," as it was called. It soon became insufficient to accommodate the great number that the love of instruction brought from all parts of the city. Hence several other Catholic Schools came to be established in the districts of Anderstown, Bridge-town Calton, Cowcaddens, and North Quarter.

It was now the lot of the good priest of Glasgow to encounter a new and most serious trouble. One Mr. Gavin, a native of Ayrshire and a rigid Presbyterian, who had tried all sorts of trades and passed through a strange variety of fortune, settled, at length, for a time, in Glasgow as the editor of a publication called *The Protestant*. This publication was very unsparing in its attacks on Catholics. It was encouraged in its evil course by a newspaper of the place, the *Glasgow Chronicle*. This journal, in July, 1818, threw out some sarcastic and libellous remarks

which were afterwards repeated by *The Protestant*, regarding an Oratorio for a charitable purpose, which took place in St. Andrew's Church soon after it was finished. The Rev. Mr. Scott was accused of "extorting money to build his chapel by a sort of poll tax from the starving Irish, and that by the fear of future punishment. Let the means by which that house was reared be inscribed upon its front, and it will remain for ages to come, a monument of Popish hard-heartedness and cruelty." Again : "The house that is building west of the Chapel, and which is, it is said, intended for the manse, will be large enough to accommodate a dozen of priests, while they remain unmarried, as they must always do ; from which I infer that Mr. Scott either has, or intends to have, abundant assistance in milking and managing his flock. It is doubtful how far he exhibits the character of a faithful pastor, while he seems to care only for himself. He asked no answer or explanation from his flock ; it was for himself as an individual." Mr. McGavin also published that "Father Scott refused to baptize the children of several labourers (whose names, unfortunately for himself, he specified) until they contributed towards the building of the new Chapel and paid up all their arrears ; and that the masters of certain public works were applied to, to retain the weekly earnings of

Catholic employees to aid the erection of the said Roman Catholic Chapel."

Such calumnies could only be swept away by a successful prosecution. But, considering the state of the public mind at Glasgow, what hope was there of success in prosecuting? Bishop Cameron, when consulted, declared that he could see none; and hence endeavoured to dissuade Mr. Scott from submitting the matter to a jury selected from the most prejudiced people in the country. He did not, however, forbid to prosecute; and Mr. Scott, remarking that he must either do so or abandon his mission, resolved to bring an action against his defamers. The damages were laid at £3,000. The chief detractor, meanwhile, encouraged by the great bulk of the less educated classes, who were guided only by blind prejudice, shouted defiance, considering himself secure. It was a most trying and anxious time for Mr. Scott. His best friends dared not venture to give an opinion in his favour. He stood alone; but was undaunted and determined. The ablest barrister of the time, the celebrated Jeffrey, was retained as his counsel; and applied to the work before him with no less earnestness than ability. His speech at the trial was a consummate masterpiece of forensic oratory. Bishop Cameron, who, after giving his evidence, had been invited by the

presiding Judge to take a seat on the Bench, could not refrain from complimenting the eloquent counsel, and remarked that his able discourse must ensure success. Jeffrey, surveying the Jury, where there was not much *respectability* to be seen, expressed much doubt. There was, however, unconquerable honesty and a sense of justice which no want of education and no amount of false teaching could ever eradicate from the minds of the Scotch people, even in the humblest walks of life. The twelve jurymen, after hearing the charge of the Right Honourable William Adam, Lord Chief Commissioner, retired for rather more than an hour. A little before five o'clock in the morning, they returned into Court, and unanimously found for the pursuer, against the defender, William McGavin, damages £100; against the defender, William Sym, Clerk of the Glasgow Fever Hospital, £20; and against the defenders, Andrew and James Duncan, printers in Glasgow, one shilling. Mr. McGavin's damages, together with his law expenses, were computed at £1,400. The twelve ordinary Glasgow jurymen, it has been well remarked, "in spite of the prejudices of their education, in spite of their religious antipathies, in spite of the fierce controversies of the day, in spite of all the means used to excite their anti-Catholic feelings, when it came to the point.

threw their prejudices to the wind, stood to immortal justice, and vindicated the cause even of a Catholic priest."

Mr. Scott could now, with an undisturbed mind, devote himself to the fulfilment of his parochial duties. These duties were necessarily very onerous, the congregation being so numerous and scattered over the increasing city of Glasgow. In visiting the sick and hearing confessions the zealous pastor was most assiduous, as well as in preaching frequently in a crowded church. At all times, but particularly when epidemics raged, visiting the sick was very trying and even dangerous. Mr. Scott was not to be dismayed. Typhus fever, small pox, even the dread cholera morbus had no terrors for him. He was always found when required, whether in the day time or the dead of night, by the bed side of the dying, speaking words of consolation and administering the grace-giving sacraments. If we may judge by the wise instructions which he imparted to the clergy, he did not neglect such precautions as prudence dictated, and on the utility of which science has pronounced. He advised the priests who assisted him to carry with them camphor or other disinfectants, to remain only as long as necessary near persons stricken with infectious or contagious disease, to refrain, as much as possible, from inhaling new air, when in a sick room,

to avoid swallowing saliva and to wash their hands immediately after visiting an infected person. The propriety of this last recommendation was well shown by a case which occurred at the Edinburgh Infirmary. A medical student there had neglected, after attending to a typhus fever patient, to wash his hands, as was the custom of the house. He was immediately seized with the terrible fever and died, exclaiming : " O, had I but washed my hands ! had I but washed my hands ! "

It was scarcely less safe, after great exertion in the pulpit, to sit for hours, often till a late hour in the evening, hearing confessions in the newly built church. This was fearlessly done ; nevertheless. The iron constitution of Mr. Scott was proof against every trial.

It fell to the lot of Mr. Scott to transact a great deal of temporal business in connection with his important mission. His punctuality in making all necessary payments and his judiciousness in the outlay of money won for him a golden name among all with whom he came to have business relations. Nor did he neglect the poor. His hand was ever open for the relief of distress. Even his good natured, unstudied salute in the streets was cheering to his more humble friends. But this was nothing to the kindness and charity which gave comfort to the disconsolate and shed a halo over the gloom of the

scaffold. His tact and wisdom in ruling the extensive mission committed to his charge could not be surpassed. There was a certain manliness and at the same time *bonhomie* in his manner which few could resist. It was the result of his essential uprightness, and caused his friendship to be so precious and his counsels so valuable to his brother clergymen.

In 1825 a set of illiterate people called the Catholic Association, gave great annoyance to Mr. Scott. These people published a pamphlet in their defence, and inveighed against what they called "the unwarrantable, unprovoked and very surprising attack" of the Rev. A. Scott and the Rev. J. Murdoch, pastors of the Glasgow Catholic congregation. They remarked also on being excluded from all knowledge of the state of the funds or the management of the temporalities, and pointed out a plan for obtaining their *right* in this respect. This precious Association originated through the mistaken zeal of some Irish members of the Church, and became the cause of the endless vexations which ever since that time have beset and annoyed the national bishops and priests in the West of Scotland. Several news sheets were enlisted in their service. Mr. Scott thundered against them in the pulpit, and in a style not the less vigorous for being peculiarly his own. He pronounced the Asso-

ciation illegal on the authority of Daniel O'Connell; and declared, moreover, that all meetings held independently of and in defiance of their pastors were schismatic and heretical. In a memorial or requisition for the redress of grievances, which they sent to Bishop Cameron, they complained that Mr. Scott had attacked them from the pulpit, calling them by the most offensive names and representing those who signed the requisition, as "illiterate rag-a-muffins," comparing the roughness of their handwriting to their "tattered coats," and recommending them, if they had any money to spare to use it in purchasing old clothes to cover their naked members. He declared, moreover, that he knew little of them, but by the scandal they had given to religion.

Although there were a few rebels who gave trouble, Mr. Scott was greatly revered by the congregation generally. He was a strict disciplinarian, and it not unfrequently behoved him to rebuke offenders. But even they who quailed beneath the lash of his just indignation, lost not confidence in his goodness; and had recourse to him when occasion required, with undiminished trust and affection. He was ever ready to defend his people when any difficulty occurred from the real or supposed state of the law. An instance or two may prove not uninteresting; Some of his flock had been summoned to qualify as Bur-

gesses, and were told that if they did not, their shops would be shut. But, on presenting themselves, they were called on to take an oath which implied an abjuration of their Faith. Upon this Mr. Scott took the matter in hand, and visited, more than once, the Dean of Guild in his Court. This official gave proof of extraordinary ignorance of the law, as did, also, his legal adviser. Such lawyers of the city as were supposed to possess some liberality, were asked to act on behalf of Mr. Scott's friends ; but none of them could be induced to take up the case. The burden, therefore, fell on Mr. Scott, who proved the actual state of the law, and at the same time threatened legal proceedings against the ignorant authorities. He thus caused his congregation to be fairly treated, and complete justice to be done.

CAP. LXVI.

“NEVER HAD A CATHOLIC TO HANG”—THE ROTHESAY
 CICERONE—“A SACRAMENTAL SATURDAY”—THE
 STORY OF WITHERINGTON—MR. SCOTT, BISHOP—
 BOTH PORTIONS OF THE WESTERN DISTRICT UNDER
 HIS CARE—GREAT LABOURS—CHURCHES PROVIDED
 IN HIGHLANDS AND LOWLANDS—BISHOP SCOTT’S
 LEGAL KNOWLEDGE—SETTLES A LONG PENDING
 DISPUTE—CHURCHES AND MISSIONS MULTIPLYING
 —CONSEQUENT INCREASE OF EPISCOPAL DUTY—
 CONVENT OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD—SACRILEGEOUS
 THEFT—REV. JOHN MURDOCH, COADJUTOR—
 BISHOP SCOTT RETIRES TO GREENOCK—HIS DEATH
 ON 4TH DECEMBER, 1846—RIGHT REVEREND JAMES
 KYLE, FIRST BISHOP OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT—
 HIS LEARNING—RETIRED LIFE—GOLDEN JUBILEE
 —DIED AT PRESHOME IN 1869, AGED 80.

An execution was about to take place. Mr. Scott attended the condemned man and prepared him to meet his fate. When the day of execution was near at hand, it occurred to a Presbyterian minister and to the magistrates that it would be contrary to use and wont, as well as to propriety, if a Catholic priest were seen publicly on the scaffold. The priest was

nowise disposed to leave the soul of his parishioner to "heretical care" in his last moments, and objected to the services of the minister on the occasion, firmly declaring that "he would never consent to any such iniquity." A magistrate was then, after serious consultation, deputed to remonstrate with the refractory priest. The Bailie's (alderman's) odd reasoning was in the following terms: "Mr. Scott," he said, "I have never in all my life, known of a Catholic priest being on the scaffold at an execution." "For this reason," replied the undaunted Mr. Scott, "that you never had a Catholic to hang yet." "But if you persist in this determination, it will cause much talk, give great offence, and not one shilling more will be subscribed by any Protestant to your new chapel." "Nae mater; I canna help that, nor the like'o' that; I maun dae my duty; and you'll alloo me to tell ye that I sall dae it tae; na, nae threats'll frichten me, Bailie." The good priest kept his word; and it may be stated, as showing what narrowness still prevailed at Glasgow, no Protestant ever after contributed a sixpence.

In familiar lectures to his congregation, Mr. Scott exposed the calumnies which Protestants usually indulged in. In connection with this practice, the following anecdote is related: A man named Gillis, the cicerone of St. Mary's ruined church at Rothesay,

was wont to play on the credulity of tourists. In pointing out the holy water stoup this man informed inquiring travellers that the Papist Bishop of Glasgow came, every year, and washed his face in it. One day that Dr. Scott was at Rothesay, he accompanied some friends to see the interesting ruins. As the cicerone talked, he listened patiently, and, giving a hint to his friends, he said to Gillis: "Aye, and dae ye ken the Papist Bishop O'Glasgae?"—"Hoot aye, fine that, when he comes, he winna lat me see what he is gaun to dae, but tells me to stan oot by there till he's dune." "Aweell man," quoth the Bishop, "yer this day in a snorl; for I'm the Papist Bishop you've sae alten seen come to wash his face, an tauld the folk aboot; here's a saxpence for yer trouble."

It happened that some members of the congregation had their shops open or did some work about them on a "Sacramental Saturday." On this account they were summoned to the police office. Mr. Scott undertook their defence, and disposed of the case in a manner that was at once summary and satisfactory. When he appeared at the bar of the police court he reminded the magistrate that the "sacramental fast" was imposed by nothing more than Ecclesiastical Law and that any violations of it could be punished only by Ecclesiastical pains and penalties. He, therefore, called on him to inflict only such punishment. To

this kind of infliction Catholics could have no objection.

No notice of the Rev. Andrew Scott would be complete without the following story. It is found in all the memoirs of the illustrious Prelate and related on his own authority : A man named Witherington, a native of the north of Ireland and an Orange Protestant, having lost what property he owned at home, came over to Scotland, and by ill luck fell into the company of thieves and depraved persons, some of whom were nominal Catholics. As for himself, he had never once been in a Catholic chapel. He dreamt one night that he was chased by devils along the salt market of Glasgow, and ran for shelter into a house where on entering he found a man who he afterwards understood was a priest, engaged in saying Mass. Hearing the noise of Witherington's sudden entering the priest turned round and bade him be comforted, for as soon as he had finished he would accompany him home. This he did, both of them walking together along certain streets of Glasgow towards Witherington's lodgings. He awoke before reaching them. He thought little of the dream at the time, but, nevertheless, related it to his companions. Sometime after he was persuaded by two or three of them to accompany them to the Catholic chapel in Glasgow, which was

the only one at that day, and served by Mr. Scott, the only priest. Witherington and his companions seated themselves awaiting the entrance of the priest and the beginning of the service. When the sacristy door opened and Mr. Scott came out, Witherington started, uttered an exclamation, and whispered to his companions that he saw the man in the strange dress whom he had seen in his dream. He listened attentively to all that was said, and recited his own prayers with some devotion. He was so far impressed as to take a resolution to amend. In a week or two, however, his good purpose was forgotten and he returned to his evil courses. Some time later, he was arrested for an aggravated robbery, committed between Ayr and Kilmarnock, and was conveyed to Edinburgh to be tried. He was convicted, and, according to the custom of the time, condemned to death. It was determined that he should remain in the jail of Edinburgh till the day before the execution, when he was to be taken back to Glasgow and thence, on the fatal morning, to the spot where the robbery had been committed. His route through Glasgow to the jail was the same as he had taken when flying from the devils in his dream. His way from the jail was the same as that by which the priest had conducted him towards his lodgings. Witherington's accomplice in

the robbery, also under sentence, was a Catholic. The Rev. Alex. Badenoch, one of the priests of Edinburgh, attended him. Witherington begged to be instructed. As the day of the execution approached it was arranged that Mr. Scott should accompany the convicts out of Glasgow, and that Bishop Paterson, who was then in charge of the Paisley mission, should take his place and attend them on the scaffold, as the place of execution lay in his mission. The day before their last the prisoners were removed to Glasgow. Bishop Paterson and Mr. Scott visited them in the jail. Witherington's cell was a dark one; but the moment Mr. Scott entered it the convict accosted him by name. When asked if he knew the priest, he replied although he had never before spoken to him he should know his face among a thousand. On learning the arrangements for next morning Witherington burst into tears. When pressed to tell the cause, the poor fellow with difficulty related his dream and entreated Mr. Scott to go with him all the way. To this the good priest consented, and encouraged and comforted the humble penitent at intervals on the awful journey, finally inspiring him with the hope to obtain mercy from the Eternal Judge.

Whilst Mr. Scott laboured with astonishing success in promoting the cause of religion, he was, at the same time, its brightest ornament. A true and faith-

ful shepherd, he was always at his post and ever watchful to guard his flock when danger arose, and vigourously defend its members when ungenerously attacked, as was often the case in those days of ignorance and narrow-mindedness. Such merit as his could not be overlooked. It was resolved, accordingly, that he should be elevated to Episcopal dignity. The advancing years of Bishop Ranald McDonald rendered it necessary that in his extensive district he should have the aid of a coadjutor. His brother Bishop of the Eastern District joined with him in petitioning to this effect, and the Holy See, acceding to their wishes, in 1827 appointed Mr. Scott Bishop of Eretria and coadjutor, with right of succession, to the Right Reverend Bishop McDonald in the newly constituted Western District. The consecration took place in St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow, Bishop Paterson officiating, assisted by Bishops McDonald and Penswick.

The new Bishop continued to reside in Glasgow, advancing, with his usual energy, the work of religion in the Lowland portion of the Western District, which may truly be said to have been the result of his own indefatigable labours. Towards the end of 1832 the management of the whole district devolved on him, in consequence of the death of Bishop McDonald. He was not less mindful of the Highland than of the

Lowland portion of his charge. *Churches were needed in many parts of the Highlands; and the ever-active Bishop lost no time in providing them. This important work cost him many journeys and much labour. But meanwhile North Morar, Glengarry, Morven, South Uist and Benbecula, Badenoch, Fort Augustus, Arlsaig, and last, but not least, Glencoe, were supplied with suitable churches. In alluding to the last-named place, Bishop Gillis, in his funeral sermon, recalling a too memorable fact of history, thus spoke of the celebrated valley: "To thee, also, he gave an altar of expiation, red vale of mourning, long widowed Glencoe!" It must not be supposed, however, that the Highlands, so dear to the Catholic heart, absorbed all the care and energy of the Apostolic Bishop. New missions at the same time were springing up throughout the Lowlands. Religion, freed from her cruel bonds, appeared to be resuming possession of her ancient strongholds. New churches arose in Airdrie, Newton Stewart, Houston, Barrhead and Duntocher, whilst many others were improved and enlarged. So much successful work was, in great measure, due to the Bishop's wonderful ability in the transaction of business. Nothing was overlooked or omitted by him that required his care and judicious consideration. Disputes and difficulties were avoided by the

pains which he took in writing contracts. They were submitted, moreover, to the scrutiny of his "man of business" (legal adviser), although his own knowledge of law was, not unfrequently, found to surpass that of his learned attorney.

Bishop Scott's knowledge was great; his soundness of judgment, if possible, greater still. His sense of justice was no less complete; and these qualities being universally recognized throughout England and Ireland as well as Scotland, it was considered safe to appeal to him in cases of the greatest difficulty. The long standing dispute between the English secular clergy and the powerful Benedictine Order was referred to him for final settlement. He took the whole case into consideration, and after mature deliberation gave his decision, which was accepted without a murmur by both seculars and regulars.

The addition of the Highlands and Western Isles to his Episcopal care greatly increased his apostolic labours; and he never shrank from them, meeting them all with his wonted energy. Neither the most fatiguing journeys by land, where no conveyance could be used, nor the waves and storms of the wild Atlantic, were any hindrance to his unconquerable activity. He beheld only the desolation of many Highland missions, and used every effort to render them pros-

perous and flourishing. His solicitude for the Highlands did not, however, diminish his care of the Lowland country. As has been seen, missions and churches multiplied through his zeal ; and the progress which he inaugurated is still a remarkable feature of the West of Scotland. There was wanting, as yet, an Ecclesiastical Seminary. The Bishop, anxious that there should be a sufficient number of clergy trained at home, purchased the estate of Dalbeth, near Glasgow, with a view to establish there a College for his Vicariate. There was on the estate a finely-situated mansion house, which, the Western District having its share in the College of Blairs, together with the other two districts, is now devoted to a more urgent want, that of the Convent of the Good Shepherd.

The Bishop in the midst of his success met sometimes with serious mortifications. Such was the sacrilegious theft of the chalice of Iona, which he had inherited from his predecessor, Bishop McDonald. One night that the safe for keeping the altar plate of St. Mary's Church was left unlocked, thieves broke into the vestry, and carried off the precious relic. It was afterwards found, but, cut to pieces, ready for the melting-pot. (See Cap. on Bishop McDonald, and Sir Daniel Wilson's Pre-historic Annals of Scotland.)

From 1833 Bishop Scott enjoyed the aid of a coadjutor, who was no other than the Right Reverend John Murdoch, whose career, afterwards, as Vicar-Apostolic, was so brilliant. By 1836, the venerable Bishop's health was so much impaired that he felt himself to be unequal to the ever-increasing business of Glasgow and the surrounding country. In order to obtain some relief he retired to the less laborious field which the town of Greenock presented. He continued, nevertheless, to devote himself to the care of his numerous flock. But the duties which he still performed were too arduous for his decreasing strength, and, finally, broke down his vigorous constitution. The illness which proved to be his last, was of long duration. It is believed to have originated in the damp vestries of his church at Glasgow, when, as yet, but newly erected. It could not be otherwise than unwholesome to remain for hours in those vestries, hearing confessions, after great exertions in the pulpit every Sunday. But the danger of illness could not deter him from giving the comfort and consolation of his ministry to his numerous penitents. Years and labours at length did their fatal work. The good Bishop sank gradually to his rest, giving no sign of intellectual decay save, occasionally, a slight and momentary wandering of the mind. He was perfectly resigned

to the will of God, and made over, without a murmur, the staff of his authority to his successor, begging, at the same time, his forgiveness for leaving him so much to do. This was, indeed, although he thought it not, pronouncing his own eulogium. He died at his residence, Shaw street, Greenock, on the 4th December, 1846, aged seventy-four years and ten months. His funeral took place at St. Mary's Church, Glasgow, Bishop Gillis preaching on the occasion an appropriate and eloquent sermon.

All Bishop Scott's sermons, admonitions, warnings, and exhortations to his people were delivered in the old Scotch dialect. He must have done so for greater edification, for none could write or speak better English, as is shown by some sermons of his composition which are preserved at Greenock.

The first Bishop of the Northern District, the Right Reverend James Kyle, was born at Edinburgh on the 22nd of September, 1788. He studied at the Seminary of Aquorties from 1799 till 1808, when he was appointed to a professorship in that Institution. He was promoted to the priesthood on the 21st of March, 1812. During the long period that elapsed between that time and January, 1826, he continued to act as a Professor at Aquorties. He was then stationed at St. Andrew's, Glasgow. He was not long engaged in that laborious mission

when his Superior next caused him to be called to the Episcopal office. On the 13th February, 1827, were received in Scotland the Briefs by which he was nominated Bishop of Germanicia and Vicar-Apostolic of the newly-constituted Northern District. His consecration took place at Aberdeen in September of the following year. He lived to enjoy his golden jubilee ; and, what is not a little extraordinary, it was celebrated in Glenlivet, and not at Preshome, his favourite residence, and which had been so long the chief seat of the missions of Scotland. All the time that could be spared from the faithful discharge of his Episcopal duties he devoted to the collection of manuscripts and printed papers connected with the history of the country and the Church. He enjoyed the reputation of being one of the best antiquaries of his time. It is matter for surprise that, with all his ability and knowledge, he never gave any writing to the public. The writer has heard him say that his only contribution to the annals of the land must be facts ; and that he left it to those who should come after him to present them in the attractive style of finely-written history.

The long and useful career of this learned Prelate came to an end at Preshome in 1869, when he had reached the advanced age of eighty.

CAP. LXVII.

BIRTH OF THE RT. REV. ANDREW CARRUTHERS—CHOOSES THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE—STUDIES AT DOUAI—HIS RETURN TO SCOTLAND—PREFECT AT SCALAN—COMPLETES HIS STUDIES AT ABERDEEN—ORDAINED PRIEST ON 25TH MARCH, 1795—IN CHARGE OF BALLOCH MISSION—CHAPLAIN AT TRAQUAIR, AT MUNSHES AND DALBEATTIE—MUCH REVERED—EXTENDS THE MISSION—HIS GARDEN—AN AMATEUR CHEMIST—CLASSICAL STUDIES—RETIRED LIFE—ATTENDS A MEETING—VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF THE EASTERN DISTRICT—NINE MISSIONS; AND TEN PRIESTS—BUILDS ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, EDINBURGH—MORE CHURCHES—ANNAN—CHURCHES AND CLERGY MORE THAN TREBLED—ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY.

Bishop Paterson was succeeded in the Eastern Vicariate by the Right Reverend Andrew Carruthers, This Prelate was born at Glenmillan near New Abbey in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright on the 7th of February, 1770. He was of a highly respectable ancient family that had persevered in the Catholic Faith amidst all the trials and persecutions of the last and preceding century. His early education was acquired

in the quiet and retired village near which he first saw the light---a village famed for the romantic scenery around it, and for its time honoured abbey which still remains in its ruins a noble monument of the glories of a bygone age. As if catching inspiration from the mouldering pile, young Carruthers was wont in his boyhood to wander up and down the shattered aisles and to explore every hidden nook of the sacred place. This remarkable taste, together with the thoughtful and serious turn of mind which he so early displayed, won for him among his playmates the name of the "young priest." The grace of Heaven crowning his natural disposition, his future destiny may be said to have been then determined on ; and so, his devout parents consenting, he made his choice and dedicated himself to the service of God in the Ecclesiastical state.

With a view to carrying out his laudable purpose, and after having acquired some knowledge of the Latin and Greek classics, he entered in the sixteenth year of his age the Scotch College of Douai. In the course of the six years that he remained there he gave proof in the public schools of the University of that place astonishing progress in every branch of literature and science. He was already well advanced in his theological studies when the terrible Revolution, which broke out in France in 1792, obliged him to abandon them for a time, and to make his

escape along with others of his fellow-students to his native land. He arrived there, at length, in safety, after having encountered great difficulties and incurred much danger. On his return to Scotland he was appointed Prefect of Studies at Scaln. He was noted there for the perfect order and discipline which he maintained, and after a short term of office he went to complete his theological studies at Aberdeen, under the guidance of the Rev. John Farquarson, formerly Rector of Douai College. In due time he was advanced to the priesthood by Bishop Hay. His ordination took place on the festival of the Annunciation, 25th March, 1795.

Mr. Carruthers, immediately after his ordination, was placed in charge of the laborious mission of Balloch. Within the range of this mission were Drummond Castle, so long the residence of the Dukes of Perth, and the town of Crief, together with the Highlands of Perthshire. The Catholics, although few in number, were widely scattered throughout these mountainous regions; and, notwithstanding the difficulties they had to contend with in fulfilling the duties of their religion, had faithfully adhered to it during the most trying times. The young priest was most zealous in the discharge of his duties towards this devoted remnant of his fellow-Catholics. He afforded them the consolation of numerous visits

and frequent administration of the sacraments of the Church, travelling on foot from house to house, through the beautiful glens and mountain passes of the country.

In 1797 he removed to Traquair in Peebles-shire. There his duties were less onerous, but not less faithfully fulfilled. He acted as chaplain to the noble family of the Stewarts, Earls of Traquair, and as missionary priest among the Catholics of the neighbouring country.

It appeared to be the destiny of Mr. Carruthers to move southwards. In three years more towards the end of 1800, he was appointed to the mission of Munshes, in his native county. Munshes was the seat of an ancient family, still Catholic, at the time of this appointment. There were to be exercised not only the duties of family chaplain, but at the same time the more laborious charge of the numerous Catholics of the neighbourhood who assembled for the public offices of religion in the chapel of Munshes House. There the priest resided until some years later, the property falling to Protestant heirs, and the domestic chapel, besides, being too small for the congregation, he removed to the neighbouring village of Dalbeattie, where, in 1814, he expended a portion of the funds left to the mission by Miss Agnes Maxwell, the last Catholic who held the estate of Munshes, in building

a church and house on a piece of ground which he had acquired for the purpose.

As may be well supposed Mr. Carruthers quitted with regret the hospitable mansion of Munshes, where he and his predecessors had been so kindly maintained for generations, and the cause of religion encouraged and upheld. During the two and thirty years that he presided over the mission in his new home, he was a most assiduous but unostentatious labourer in the spiritual field confided to his care. He was diligent, particularly in instructing the young and causing the members of his congregation generally to fulfil the duties of religion. He had a certain sternness of manner, which, instead of being a hindrance, rather facilitated the maintenance of discipline. His horror of all wickedness was so well known that his very frown was a terror to evil doers. Meanwhile he failed not to cultivate the amenities of social life ; and hence became a favourite among the leading characters of the country and the people generally. Such were the reverence and propriety that he caused to be observed in the house of God that perfect silence prevailed during the celebration of Mass ; so much so that not even a cough came to disturb the solemnity of the holy service. His mission extending during twenty-five years, to the whole Stewartry of Kirkcudbright with the exception of a

small portion near Dumfries, and as far into the county of Wigton as the Irish channel, it may be conceived what a load of duty was imposed upon him. In so wide a district, there were several congregations requiring his attendance. There were stations which he formed at Kirkcudbright, the county town, at Gatehouse and Parton in the one county, and Newton Stewart in the other. All these stations he visited regularly during his incumbency, with the exception of Newton Stewart, to which the Rev. Dr. Sinnot was appointed in 1825. An idea of his arduous labours may be conceived when it is stated that one of the stations was forty miles distant from his home, another twenty miles, and none of them less than twelve miles, and that now, four priests are employed in attending to the duties which it fell on him so long to fulfil alone.

Mr. Carruthers, notwithstanding his multifarious spiritual occupations, found leisure to improve the rugged piece of land around the church and house which he had built, In this he was eminently successful. In the rocky parts he planted shrubs and plants of various kinds ; and, the more level places, where there was any soil, he adapted for flowers and vegetables. He was an excellent botanist and took great delight in cultivating a variety of the most beautiful flowers. Every portion of his garden was

very tastefully laid out, in so much that he acquired in the neighbourhood the two-fold reputation of being an admirable gardener and landscape gardener. His work became an object of curiosity and attraction throughout the country ; and whenever there was a pleasure ground, a plantation, an avenue, a shrubbery or garden to be planned he was invariably consulted.

He had in early life acquired a knowledge of experimental philosophy. Chemistry, in particular was his favourite study ; and he failed not at intervals to cultivate this science during his missionary career and indeed, throughout his whole lifetime. He was generally very successful in the chemical experiments, which he made, as often as he had time for them. He took care to acquire the most recent publications on the subject of his favourite study. He thus became aware of every discovery at the earliest moment. When resident at Blairs College, he took pleasure in imparting to the students a taste and liking for the philosophical pursuits in which he himself took so much delight.

It might be supposed that so practical a man cared little for literature. Letters, nevertheless, were an additional source of pleasure to him. The ancient Greek and Latin classics, as well as the modern literary authors, were quite familiar to him ;

and he possessed that refinement of taste which adds so much to the pleasure of such studies. He wrote Latin with ease and elegance. Nor did he ever forget the French language, which he had learned so well during his earlier years in France. Although he never revisited that country, he could still speak French with ease and fluency, his diction and pronunciation being singularly correct. He was possessed of remarkable conversational power, and varied information, and an inexhaustible store of anecdote caused his society to be much sought. When called upon unexpectedly to speak on public occasions, his remarks were always happy and to the purpose. During his long sojourn in Galloway he enjoyed the esteem of Protestants as well as Catholics. The former, notwithstanding his different creed and uncompromising, though unobtrusive defence of it, sought and courted his acquaintance and society.

Mr. Carruthers lived quite retired during the long period of his missionary career, and was in consequence little known beyond those portions of the country where duty required his presence. He had scarcely any acquaintance with his brother priests, especially in the northern part of the country, which, at the time, constituted the Lowland District. The remoteness of his residence in great part accounts for this. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that

he took no part in the questions which concerned the general state of the missions ; nor that he did not attend any of the meetings of the clergy till the year 1827. In that year he was present at the annual meeting of the friendly society which was held at Huntly. On that occasion, by the judicious and timely remarks which he made on the various subjects that came under discussion, he produced a particularly favourable impression on the meeting and won the esteem of many to whom he had hitherto been quite unknown. He resumed, on returning home, his usual routine of duties, little imagining that he was to be torn from his beloved retirement and placed in a more prominent position, exchanging the care of a comparatively small portion for the charge of the whole Eastern district.

There was now a delay of two years in filling the place vacated by the death of the much regretted Bishop Paterson, who, in 1827, had obtained from the Holy See a new partition of the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Scotland and the establishment of a third Vicariate. The seat of this Vicariate remained vacant until 1832, when the Vicars-Apostolic of the Western and Northern Districts, with the unanimous concurrence of the clergy, addressed a supplication to Pope Gregory XVI., requesting the appointment of Mr. Carruthers to the vacant

Vicariate. Briefs, accordingly, were issued on the 13th of November, 1832, nominating him Bishop of Ceramis *in partibus infidelium*, and Vicar-Apostolic of the Eastern District. The consecration took place in St. Mary's, Edinburgh, on the 13th of January, 1833, the Right Reverend Dr. Penswick, at the time Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District of England, officiating as consecrating Bishop, assisted by the Right Reverend Drs. Scott and Kyle, Vicars-Apostolic of the Western and Northern Districts of Scotland.

Mr. Carruthers was far from coveting the dignity to which he was now raised. On the contrary he accepted it reluctantly and only from obedience. His first care was to make himself acquainted with the circumstances of the flock to the charge of which he was appointed. There were but few missions in his district and few clergy. The number of the former was nine; and that of the latter ten. There were only eight chapels or churches, and no reasonable hope of any immediate accession to the ranks of the clergy. Funds, besides, were wanting for the erection of additional churches. The Catholics, meanwhile, were increasing in numbers, although not much in opulence. The prospect was anything but bright. Nevertheless, the new Bishop, relying on the grace of Heaven, did not shrink from

the arduous duties that lay before him, and zealously applied to the task of improving the various missions, as far as circumstances and the means at his disposal would permit. His labours began in the capital. There, with the aid of a gift of money from the late Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels, a munificent benefactor of the missions generally, he erected the handsome church of St. Patrick, chiefly for the accommodation of the Catholics resident in the "old town." The clergy, meanwhile, were not idle. Sustained by the encouragement which the Bishop gave them, and not unfrequently by his active co-operation, they succeeded in raising churches in several important centres. Among these were St. Andrew's (1836) and St. Mary's (1851) Dundee. Stirling and Falkirk were favoured with churches and houses for the clergy, chiefly through the exertions of the late Rev. Dr. Paul McLachlan, distinguished as a controversial writer, with all the aid the Bishop could afford. The churches of Lennoxtown, of Campsie and Arbroath were built under the immediate superintendence of the Bishop himself. He also caused an ex-Episcopal church to be purchased at Portobello, and houses that were converted into temporary churches, at Forfar and Kirkcudbright while a site for a church was acquired at Leith. Annan, an outpost of the mission of Dum-

fries, was not forgotten. The writer of these sketches being at the time assistant priest at the latter place, it was his duty to visit its dependencies. At Annan there was no better place of worship than a room at an inn. There was in the place an unoccupied church which the writer thought might be acquired. The Rev. William Reid, the senior priest, concurred in his view; the Bishop gave his countenance, and several Catholics their money. Mr. Marmaduke, Constable Maxwell, of Terreagles, subscribing £50, his brothers, William, Peter, Henry, Joseph, also giving handsome sums. Funds were thus provided, the church, a substantial stone and lime building, purchased, and adapted to the purposes of Catholic worship. A projection from the south side was converted into a house, according to a plan made by Mr. M. Maxwell, of Terreagles. All this, although there had never previously been any attempt to set up a Catholic establishment at Annan, appeared only to give pleasure to the inhabitants, who, it may be mentioned here, were well known to entertain liberal and tolerant sentiments. Of this they gave additional proof on the day of the opening when they attended in great numbers, listening attentively to the sermons that were delivered by the coadjutor Bishop (Right Reverend Dr. Gillis), and the assistant priest. The day of opening was a memorable

one at Annan. There never before had been so many Protestants at a Catholic celebration. The Catholics were also fairly represented. The Laird of Terreagles and other friends, together with the eminent Bishop Gillis, in these days coadjutor of the Eastern Vicariate, being present.

Annan is here mentioned at some length as it is a place of no slight celebrity. It was the parish, according to Presbyterian forms, of the renowned Edward Irving, who being deprived for entertaining non-Presbyterian views, formed a congregation for himself in London, and astonished that capital and the Empire by his extraordinary eloquence. The non-Presbyterian Church which he established still exists, and is known as "the Catholic Apostolic Church."

Annan, after some time, became a separate mission. The house planned by Mr. Maxwell is still used as the priest's residence. The Reverend Lord Archibald Douglas, of the Queensbury family, is the present incumbent.

Thus was the state of the district slowly but very materially improved. The number of the clergy and churches or temporary buildings where the faithful could assemble, was more than trebled. In all this important work the Bishop was substantially aided by charitable grants from "St. Andrew's

Society." The object of which was to afford support to the poorer missions. Its funds were maintained by collections in the churches and donations by all who took an interest in its work.

CAP. LXVIII.

COADJUTOR APPOINTED — RELIGIOUS SISTERS INTRODUCED — CHAPEL AT MURTHLY CASTLE — COUNTY OF FIFE — RIOT AT DUNFERMLINE — POWER OF THE LAW — LIBERALITY OF PRINCIPAL INHABITANTS — CONDUCT OF THE BISHOP — SCIENCE PATRONIZED — PRESENT TO GREGORY XVI. — SERMONS AT LAWRENCEKIRK TO A PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATION — REMARKABLE RESULT — PROGRESS AT EDINBURGH — CHARITABLE AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, ETC. — THE BISHOP A CLASSICAL SCHOLAR — ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS THE QUIGRICH — ITS RESTORATION TO SCOTLAND.

The Bishop now being advanced in years and less able to bear alone the burden of so great a charge resolved to apply for a coadjutor. The choice fell on the Rev. James Gillis, whose appointment was obtained from the Holy See in 1837. He was consecrated as Bishop of Limyra on the 22nd July, 1838. This appointment added new vigour to the administration of Bishop Carruthers. Through the exertions of the coadjutor a colony of religious Sisters was brought from the diocese of Luçon in France, and established at Edinburgh. This was the first

time since the great religious revolution that any attempt was made to bring a religious community into Scotland. It was eminently successful. The French sisters, together with an addition to their number from Scotland, at once formed two houses ; one, where the teaching of children of the more wealthy classes was undertaken, and another where the Sisters taught the poor and also visited and nursed the sick. They are still known by the name which they originally adopted, that of "*Ursulines de Jesu.*"

The pontificate of Bishop Carruthers was further illustrated by the erection of a beautiful private chapel in the park of Murthly Castle, the seat of the late Sir William Drummond Stewart, the well known American traveller. The Catholics of the neighbourhood were freely admitted to this chapel, and, thus, was founded a mission which still continues. On the accession to the estate of Murthly, of Sir William's brother, who was a Protestant, the chapel could not be any longer used for Catholic purposes. Its furniture and decorations were removed, partly to Crief, and partly to Bankfoot in the neighbourhood where the mission still exists, wholly unconnected with the new baronet's mansion.

The extensive county of Fife may be said to have been annexed, in a missionary sense, to the missions

already existing, during the pontificate of Bishop Carruthers. Soon after this county was opened as a field for missionary labour, six stations were established at the most suitable places—at Dunfermline, the chief city of the Western Division of the county ; Cupar, the chief town of the Eastern Division ; Kirkcaldy ; Lochgelly ; Newburgh and Culross. The two last named have been discontinued as they were only opened for the benefit of railway people, contractors, clerks and labourers. Churches have since been erected at Dunfermline, Lochgelly, Kirkcaldy, and St. Andrews. At the commencement of these missions much favour was shown to the priest on duty by the Protestant inhabitants generally. The more intelligent even extended their favour to the Irish parishioners. A riot having occurred, the object of which was to expel all persons of Irish origin from Dunfermline, the clerk of the Lord-Lieutenancy, there not being a sufficient police force in the place, caused the military to be called out. A troop of dragoons accordingly, fifty in number, arrived before night, at Inverkeithing, where the Irish people came to a stand, under the protection of the Provost of the old town. They were escorted by the military back to Dunfermline ; and as it was late when they arrived, they were lodged for the night in the city hall, the principal citizens bringing for their comfort

mattresses, blankets, rations, ale, etc., whilst the magistrates assured them that for the time to come they would have complete protection, the outraged law, although, for once, taken by surprise being more powerful than any force of rioters. The Bishop on the occasion gave proof of his solicitude. Having heard of the riot, he was seen next day in the midst of the agitated city, seated on a bench in front of the principal hotel. A rash scribe boasted, in writing, that the incumbent's congregation was dispersed and that he would henceforth have to preach to empty benches. This was easily denied. There was no difference in the attendance at Mass on the Sunday following the riot. This fact the priest in charge communicated to the editor of a friendly paper who gladly published the statement. Not only on this occasion but at other times as well the incumbent of that day, who was the first resident priest in the county, could congratulate himself on the kind attention shown by the Provost and Magistrates of Dunfermline, the Procurator fiscal and the Sheriff substitute (County Judge) in particular.

The Bishop, now having a coadjutor who shared with him the burden of the Episcopate, was more at leisure to apply to scientific studies. Chemistry was still his delight. He possessed all the more recent works on the subject, and he frequently experimented

with marvellous success. Not only this. He extended his patronage to such as interested themselves in chemical pursuits. Mr. Kemp, a working chemist of Edinburgh, had fallen upon a great improvement of the electro-galvanic battery. The Bishop visited him, made a trial of the improved battery, and ordered one for the College of Blairs and another for the Scotch College at Rome. Mr. Kemp then asked the Bishop whether he might presume, when sending to the Scotch College, to send a battery as a present to the Holy Father, Gregory XVI. The Bishop considered that such a present would be very acceptable. A battery, accordingly, was sent to the Pope. Gregory XVI. received it most graciously, and caused it to be operated by a learned professor in his presence. He was delighted ; and in order to show his appreciation, sent two beautiful gold medals to Mr. Kemp. These medals were brought to Scotland by the Rev. John Gray, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, and faithfully delivered to Mr. Kemp.

Meanwhile, missionary duties were not neglected by the Bishop or by the clergy. In this connection it may be told that something entirely new in the history of missionary action occurred about this time. Hitherto it had been found expedient to conduct Catholic services and preach Catholic sermons as privately as possible considering the preju

dices that still lurked in the public mind. To attack those prejudices boldly and openly was looked on as an impossibility. The Protestants themselves were the first to overthrow this idea. When the writer of these sketches was temporarily in charge of the Forfarshire missions, the people of Lawrence Kirk (a village celebrated as the birthplace of the philosopher and poet, Beattie,) and neighbourhood requested him to come to their village and deliver to them a "Catholic sermon." This request was renewed, from time to time, for several months. At last the priest believing that the good people were perfectly in earnest, consented to preach to them. A very numerous congregation from the village and surrounding country came to hear the sermon. The misrepresentations of Protestant writers and preachers were dwelt upon and the true doctrine of the Church set forth. At the conclusion of the discourse, came thanks and congratulations, together with a pressing invitation to return and give them another sermon. This invitation was frequently repeated during the following two months. The priest taking with him quite a number of the books and pamphlets published by the Catholic Institute of London, repaired to Lawrence Kirk and delivered a sermon to a more numerous congregation. He distributed to the audience the Catholic works which he had brought with him; and not without a

successful result. A minister of the Scotch Episcopal Church, who was a good deal in advance of his brethren, commenced lecturing against Catholics. The people remonstrated. His defence was that the priest was only deceiving them in order to gain their favour. This assertion they triumphantly repelled, stating that they had standard Catholic works in their hands which showed the same doctrine as the priest preached. The only answer to this was that the minister *had taken an oath to oppose "Popery" where ever he met with it, and let them say what they liked he would oppose it.* It was something to have a whole congregation of Presbyterian defenders. It is impossible to say what the results of all this might have been. The presence of the priest was required by the Bishops at Edinburgh, where he was appointed chaplain to the newly-established sisterhood, the *Ursulines de Jesus*, and preacher at St. Mary's church.

The solemn service of Vespers had been for some time established at St. Mary's church. But as yet the attendance was very inconsiderable. The Bishop, although he had given up the charge of Edinburgh to his coadjutor, concurred with him in his endeavour to increase the attendance at Vespers. He presided pontifically every Sunday; and when he could not be present, the coadjutor took his place. He also gave all encouragement to the chaplain of the Ursu-

lines, who undertook and announced a course of sermons on the doctrines of the Church to be delivered on Sunday afternoons at Vespers. There was also a very competent choir under the direction of Mr. Hargitt. In a few weeks the attendance was so much improved that the church was completely filled from the sanctuary rails to the door. This better state of things gave so much satisfaction to the Bishop that the coadjutor took occasion to compliment the congregation in a formal address from the altar.

Charitable and educational institutions were fostered by the Bishop and his colleague. Among these was a branch of the Ursuline community established in the heart of the "old town," whose care it was to teach the poorer children and also to visit and tend the sick poor; the Society of St. Vincent of Paul in the guidance of which the Rev. James Stothert took a leading part; and the Guild of St. Joseph which owed its origin to Bishop Gillis. This last named institution, modeled according to the ancient Catholic guilds, was efficient in providing mutual aid and exercising charity. It did good service, moreover, on occasions of religious processions, by its imposing numbers and the picturesque costume of its members. The Bishops extended their encouragement to the Catholic schools generally; and

greatly promoted education among the poor by their attention to the "united industrial schools." These schools were first established at Edinburgh, under the name of "ragged schools," by a distinguished Protestant preacher, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, for the benefit of his poorer parishioners. Then followed the Catholic "ragged schools," and, finally, both came to be united as "The United Industrial Schools" of Edinburgh. St. Margaret's Society was chiefly instituted in order to aid the poorer schools of the district. To it, also, the Bishops lent their countenance in concurrence with its principal founder, the late Mr. Monteith of Carstairs. The College of Blairs shared the solicitude of the Bishops; and the senior Bishop resided there for a considerable time, his example inspiring the students with a love for scientific study.

The Bishop was endowed with great literary taste. His knowledge of the ancient and modern classics was more than ordinary. He wrote Latin with elegance and spoke French with remarkable fluency, although he had never visited France since the time of his studies. He was also a patron of letters as well as of science. He rejoiced in the literary acquirements and oratorical powers of his eloquent coadjutor; and he often expressed his satisfaction with the controversial writings of the Rev. Paul McLachlan,

D.D., of Falkirk, who was a distinguished founder of missions and builder of churches, no less that with the writings of the Rev. Stephen Keenan, D.D., of Dundee, and those of the Rev. John Stewart McCorry, D. D., of Perth. With the Rev. Mr. Keenan and the Rev. John McPherson, D. D., the Bishop concurred in promoting the establishment of an academy at Welburn, near Dundee.

Among the many things that tended to give lustre to the pontificate of Bishop Carruthers were the discovery and final restoration to Scotland of that invaluable relic, the quigrich or crozier of St. Fillan. This relic is certainly the most interesting that remains in connection with ancient Scottish history. The late Mr. Adam Dawson was the first who aroused attention in regard to it, and made known that it had found its way to Canada. When visiting in the township of Beckwith he was shown the venerable quigrich together with documents which proved its authenticity, at the house of its hereditary guardian. Alexander Dewar or Doir. He lost no time in communicating the information thus received to his brother the Rev. Æneas McDonell Dawson, LL. D., F. R. S., who was at the time resident at Dunfermline. The latter imparted this knowledge of the quigrich to his good friend, Sir Daniel Wilson, L. L. D., and F. R. S., who was then secretary to

the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and engaged in preparing his learned work, "The Pre-historic Annals of Scotland." It was received as a valuable contribution to that work and occupies one of its brightest pages. The quigrich is remarkable as having been the crozier of St. Fillan, who, in the eighth century, continued the work of St. Columba among the Scots and Picts. It was held in great veneration by King Robert Bruce, who had it in the tent in which he heard Mass and received the Holy Communion, before joining battle with Edward II. of England at Bannockburn. Immediately after the conflict the King returned to his tent in order to give thanks to Almighty God for the great victory which he had won. Anxious to make sure that the relics of St. Fillan were in the reliquary at the head of the crozier, destined to contain them, on examination, he found them not. He asked the Abbot of Inchaffray, their custodian, to account for their absence, and received for reply that it had been thought prudent to remove them before the battle to a place of safety. "What better place of safety," said the King, indignantly, to the affrighted Abbot, "than the army of your King?" and, depriving him of the guardianship, confided it to Malise Doir, the ancestor of the Dewars or Doirs of Canada, who had distinguished himself

by good service in the great battle. The quigrich continued under the guardianship of the Dewars till our day, with only a temporary interruption, when it came into the possession of the Catholic family of Glengarry. Mr. Dewar denied that it was parted with for money, as a common matter of bargain and sale; but admitted that it had been given in pledge for a loan. The Dewars ceasing to prosper from the time that they gave up the quigrich, appealed to the generosity of Glengarry, who liberally surrendered the precious relic to its hereditary guardians. Prosperity, however, did not return with the restoration of the sacred trust; and the family emigrated to Canada. Sir Daniel Wilson had also come to Canada, and was for some time a Professor in the University of which he is now the Principal. It was a cherished object with him to have the quigrich restored to Scotland. His first negotiations with the Dewars proved fruitless. Some time later he returned to the charge and was more successful. Mr. Alex. Dewar himself had become anxious that the great relic should go back to Scotland. He was eighty-seven years of age; and rightly believed that his sons would not be guided by the same sentiments as himself in regard to Scotland and its historical associations. In fact, he could imagine the holy and historic relic among the profane

shows of a Barnum or consigned to the melting pot. Such a fate could only be averted by treating with Sir Daniel Wilson ; and he did so on the most liberal terms. Seven hundred dollars were the ransom for it required by the family. Two hundred of these Mr. Dewar himself agreed to pay. The rest was provided through Dr. Wilson, by the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh. It now remained only to have the venerable relic conveyed to Scotland. This Sir Daniel Wilson accomplished with complete success. A full meeting of the Antiquaries was held, the Marquess of Lothian presiding, on occasion of the reception of the quigrich which will ever remain as a sacred trust in the keeping of the venerable antiquaries, for the gratification, instruction and edification of Scotch people in all time to come. The most probable derivation of the name, quigrich, is from ("the king's crook") the crozier having been greatly venerated by King Robert Bruce. The deed, signed by Alex. Dewar and his son, Archibald, is dated December, 1876, and distinctly makes over, in trust, to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland the most interesting relic. (See "The proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 97th session, 1876-1877, vol. 12 ; part 1" Edinburgh, 1877.)

CAP. LXIX.

CONVERSIONS—BISHOP GILLIS AND OTHER WRITERS—

THE EX-KING OF FRANCE—DEATH OF MR. MENZIES—
—HIS LAST WILL—MAGNIFICENT FUNERAL—
BISHOP GILLIS A DIPLOMATIST—HIS SUCCESS IN
OBTAINING FUNDS FOR THE MISSION—CAUSES THE
LIBRARY OF THE SCOTCH COLLEGE AT PARIS TO BE
REMOVED TO BLAIRS—DEATH OF THE HONOURABLE
AND RIGHT REVEREND ALEXANDER M'DONELL AT
DUMFRIES—HIS FUNERAL AT EDINBURGH—IN 20
YEARS HIS REMAINS TRANSFERRED TO KINGSTON
—THE CHURCH AND HOUSE OF ST. MARY'S, EDIN-
BURGH, GREATLY IMPROVED—GUILD OF ST. JOSEPH
—SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT OF PAUL—BISHOP GILLIS
AND THE "FREE CHURCH"—NEGOTIATIONS CON-
CERNING THE SCOTCH MONASTERY AT RATISBON—
FINAL DECISION—FRENCH ROYAL FAMILY AT EDIN-
BURGH—THE COUNT DE CHAMBORD—RELICS OF
SAINT CRESCENTIA—RELICS OF SAINT MARGARET
—PERTH BANQUET AT BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS
ROYAL, 1840—GREAT PROGRESS, CONSOLING TO
THE BISHOP IN HIS OLD AGE—HIS DEATH.

Conversions were not as yet very frequent in
Scotland. That they were not impossible, however,

circumstances occasionally showed. Towards the close of Bishop Carruthers' career, in the year 1850, Viscount Fielding came to Edinburgh in order to be received into the Church, together with Lady Fielding. They applied to the coadjutor Bishop, before whom they made their abjuration. This had scarcely been done when the Viscount's father, the Earl of Denbigh, accompanied by his chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Baylee, arrived, in the hope of being able to prevent his son and daughter-in-law from taking what he considered a false step. To his great mortification, however, it was too late. As if to make amends he and his clerical friend sought and obtained an interview with Bishop Gillis, at which Mr. Baylee raised a discussion on several tenets of the Catholic Church. The conversation, or controversy, lasted three hours; but led to no result. Soon after, Mr. Baylee published a very unfair account of the interview in the *Morning Herald*. Bishop Gillis was obliged, in consequence, to insert in the same paper a counter statement for his own vindication. An unprofitable newspaper correspondence was the result. But it was not of long continuance. It lasted, however, long enough to show how little justice was to be expected from the public press of the time. The unfairness of the *Herald's* report imposed on Bishop Gillis the necessity of publishing a pamphlet, in

which he gave in detail the facts and arguments that had been brought forward, This work, although it had no effect on the opinions and prejudices of Mr. Baylee and his right honourable patron, was circulated, along with the coadjutor's other learned writings, and won for him, apart from his episcopal character, a high place among men of letters.

Another able writer of the time among Catholics was the Reverend James Stothert, a graduate of Cambridge and a convert to the Catholic faith. Of Mr. Stothert's ability as a writer and lecturer we need no better proof than the elegant lectures which he delivered at Edinburgh, and which gave so much delight to all who heard them.

Mr. William Turnbull, a member of the Edinburgh bar, was well known in those times as a man of letters and a zealous antiquary. He was for some time secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; and was succeeded in that office by Principal Sir Daniel Wilson, now at Toronto. Mr. Turnbull, like Mr. Stothert, was a convert to the Catholic religion. Dr. Kemp, of the medical profession, was also a convert, and did honour to his profession by the elegance of his writings. Another convert, Sir William Drummond Stewart, was one of the first who travelled through and explored the Rocky Mountains of America, and was well known through h

out those wild regions as "the hospitable Scotchman." What he wrote about his travels entitles him to honourable mention among literary men. His nice appreciation of the fine arts was well shown in the tasteful decorations and whole style of the elegant chapel which, at a cost of £16,000, he erected near his family mansion, Murthly Castle.

Mr. Clerk, son of Sir George Clerk, Bart., of Pennycuick, so long known in Canada as the editor of the Montreal "*True Witness*," and much distinguished by his able writings, was a convert of the time. James Browne, LL.D., who so well illustrated portions of Scottish history, and who was also a convert to the Catholic Faith, fills, and is well entitled to fill, a high place among the literary characters of Edinburgh. The brothers, Alexander and George Miller, of the British army, grandsons of Lord Glenlea of the Court of Session (the Supreme Court of Scotland), and sons of Colonel Miller, who fell at Waterloo, are well entitled to an honourable place among the distinguished converts of the period.

If correct, elegant and judicious composition of sermons can give any claim to literary reputation it eminently belonged to the Rev. Alexander Badenoch. It is to be regretted that he left no writing to impart instruction and perpetuate his memory. The ex-King of France, Charles X, who attended regularly

at St. Mary's Church, where Mr. Badenoch was the senior priest, was heard to say that he showed much feeling in his sermons. Mr. Smith, editor of the *Catholic Magazine* of those times, and the first that appeared, must not be forgotten. His work ably promoted the cause of letters as well as that of religion. It would be a grievous mistake not to mention the venerable John Sharpe who after having laboured long in the mission, was President of Blairs' College in Bishop Carruthers' time. Under his rule, and without the aid of punishments, the highest discipline prevailed.

The Reverend William Bennet was one of the gifted men of Bishop Carruthers' time. He laboured many years in the mission, and was distinguished for both piety and learning. He joined the Society of Oblates and was Professor of Greek and English Literature for several years in the University which that Society founded and conducts at Ottawa, Canada. He died there at the advanced age of 73 in 1887.

In the time of Bishop Carruthers' that illustrious scholar, Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman, paid several visits to the clergy and Catholics of Edinburgh. Colonel McDonell of that time who lived long at Edinburgh, wrote a remarkable work, called "the Abrahamidæ," in which he endeavoured to prove that the people of Scotland are descended from the

Patriarch, Abraham. His work and the idea it maintains were only known to the Colonel's private friends, as he never published it,

Charles Glendonwyne Scott was a striking figure in the society of those days. He was called and was in reality, Mr. O'Connell's "Head Pacificator for Scotland." The mission lost its best benefactor when John Menzies, Esq., of Pitfodels, departed this life on the 11th of Oct., 1843. Bishop Gillis returned from an intended tour to Germany in time for the funeral, which was conducted with all the pomp becoming a friend of the Church who was so deeply lamented. Bishops Kyle and Murdoch were present, together with many of the clergy from various parts of Scotland. The Guild brethren, in full costume, appearing in procession from St. Mary's Church to the Chapel of St. Margaret's Convent, where the interment took place, added much to the solemnity of the services. Meanwhile, some of the populace mistook the brethren for priests; and certain murmurings were heard about so many "Romish" priests being in the city. This may not have amounted to much. Nevertheless, the police officers thought it advisable that the Guild men should not return in their uniform; and counselled them accordingly. Bishop Carruthers was unavoidably absent, being from home and not having had notice in time. Mr. Menzies' testamen-

tary settlements had been partly executed in 1834. To St. Margaret's Convent he bequeathed a considerable sum of money, together with a small landed estate, for the benefit of the community established there. Bishop Gillis he appointed his residuary legatee, and willed to him, besides, the property and house of Greenhill, where Mr. Menzies had spent the last years of his life, and, along with it, the plate and furniture. The library also, he left to the Bishop during his life, appointing that it should afterwards belong to the future College of the Eastern District. The testator directed, moreover, that the debts of the two churches of Edinburgh should be paid out of his funds. Legacies were left to each of the three Vicars-Apostolic for building new churches in the Highland portions of the Western district, and for erecting a new church at Aberdeen. In addition there were several bequests to individuals; so that almost the whole of Mr. Menzies' property was devised for ecclesiastical and charitable purposes in Scotland.

Soon after the appointment and consecration of Dr. Gillis as coadjutor, Bishop Carruthers had good reason to congratulate himself on the diplomatic ability and success of the newly appointed Bishop in obtaining additional funds for the use of the mission. Hitherto the Society for the Propagation of the

Faith, which originated at Lyons in 1822, and had one of its directing councils at Paris, had confined its benefactions to missions outside of Europe. When Bishop Gillis applied for some aid to the struggling missions of Scotland the reply was given that the Society could not deviate from the purpose for which it was founded, even in favour of the poorest European mission. The Bishop was not to be defeated. Availing himself of his acquaintance in France, and finding himself sustained in his views by several religious and influential persons, he set about establishing another charitable society for giving assistance in European missionary countries, on the same plan as that of the institution already in existence. In this endeavour he was eminently successful. The devout Catholics, who at first favoured his views, and lent him their countenance, continuing to sustain him, the new institution, called *l'œuvre du Catholicism en Europe* (the work of Catholicity in Europe), was established at Paris. The prospects of this undertaking were in a short time so good that the first Society became alarmed for its prosperity. Its councils, dreading the influence of the rival institution, laid the whole case before the Holy See. It was there decided that there should be only one society, as the interests of two rival societies might often clash and injure each other. It would tend more to

promote the general good, that the missions of all countries, whether European or other, should in future, receive aid in proportion to the necessities of each mission and the means at command of the Society for granting aid. It was, no doubt, cause of regret that a good work with such excellent prospects, should be abandoned. Meanwhile, it had produced its fruit. The council of the original, or rather, the united society entertained favourably the case of the Scotch missions, and ever since they have shared abundantly in its distributions.

The influence of the coadjutor was still further employed in obtaining that all that remained of the library of the Scotch College of Paris, should be transferred to Blairs. In May, 1839, he returned to Scotland.

A singularly distinguished son of Scotland, where were spent the earlier years of his ecclesiastical career, justly claims honourable mention here. Urged by his sacerdotal zeal the Honourable and Right Rev. Alexander McDonell, of Kingston, had traversed the Atlantic Ocean and revisited the scenes of his earlier labours in order to obtain some assistance for his recently established diocese in Canada. It was not however, the will of the Great Master that he should continue his work in the vineyard ; and he was called suddenly to his reward a day or two after his arrival

at Dumfries, in Scotland, on the 14th day of January, 1840. (For details see Biography by Chevalier W. J. McDonell, of Toronto, Canada.) It was resolved, on the occasion, to do the greatest possible honour, as was fitting in the case of a prelate who had been so eminent in his day as a Bishop, and, in trying times, had done signal service to both Church and State. The remains were conveyed to Edinburgh in order to be temporarily deposited in the vaults of the chapel of St. Margaret's Convent. The funeral services were conducted with extraordinary pomp at St. Mary's Church. Nothing of the kind so splendid had been seen at Edinburgh since Royalty ceased to have its abode in the Scottish capital. A magnificent funeral car was provided, a procession formed, and all that was mortal of the great Bishop conveyed to the Convent, there to await transference to the seat of his Canadian diocese. Twenty years later, one of his successors, Bishop Horan, effected the change and laid down in their final resting place the remains of Kingston's first Bishop.

When Bishop Carruthers gave over the charge of Edinburgh and its two churches to his coadjutor, the latter made several improvements in St. Mary's Church. The pews were in great part renewed. A new altar with appropriate furniture, and a new pulpit were erected. A screen of elaborately carved oak

was placed at great cost around the sanctuary, and within it an episcopal throne and a choir organ. The chief organ, meanwhile, was repaired and enlarged, and the church newly painted and decorated within. The house in which resided the Bishop and clergy was also considerably improved. The walls were raised a few feet and new furniture provided.

It was at this time also that Dr. Gillis, with the consent of the Bishop, instituted the Holy Guild of St. Joseph. It was his good fortune also to favour the establishing in Edinburgh of the well known Society of St. Vincent of Paul. This brotherhood that followed so closely in the footsteps of its sainted patron, although it originated in Paris so late as 1833, in a short time had branches all over France, and somewhat later, in every country where there are Catholics. At Edinburgh there are three conferences.

At this time (1846), Mr. Frederick Monod, a Calvinist minister, directed, under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland, a volume of calumnies and misrepresentations against the Catholic Church. The Bishop considered it his duty to reply. He, accordingly, prepared an elaborate refutation of Mr. Monod's book and addressed it to the assembly of the Free Church, which was then in session. No answer was received, and it is not known what im-

pression the Bishop's work produced on the Free Church mind ; but the volume remains a monument of its author's learning, moderation and literary skill.

Bishop Carruthers, at his advanced age, could ill dispense, even temporarily, with the presence at Edinburgh and aid of his coadjutor. It was, nevertheless, resolved that the latter should proceed to Ratisbon in Bavaria, as representative of the Vicars-Apostolic of Scotland, in order to obtain if possible, that on the decease of the last Scotch Benedictine, Prior Deasson (Dawson,) the Monastery of St. James should be secularized and converted into a Seminary for the Scotch missions. Such a demand was not unreasonable, as all the properties connected with the Monastery, had been gifted to it by Scotchmen, noblemen and others interested in the cause of Scotch education. The Bishop had taken care to provide himself with letters of introduction from the ex-Royal Family of France. He succeeded, moreover, in interesting in favour of his view the Bishop of Ratisbon and the surviving Religious. He then repaired to Munich and obtained an audience of the King, who received him with favour, entertained his application, and referred him for a final answer to his Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs. It appears to have been no easy matter for this Minister to manufacture a reply. For it was not given till after a

delay of four months, when everything asked for was refused, and a threat held out, at the same time, that if the Monastery were not supplied with subjects, Scotch Benedictines, within six months, it would be delivered to Bavarian members of the same Order. The Bishop replied to this extraordinary State paper, which was wholly founded on erroneous assumptions, in a memorial which was called "Reclamations," and which set forth the claims and rights of the Scotch mission to the whole property, proving beyond question, that it was the intention of the founders and benefactors to promote the cause of the Catholic Religion in Scotland, and not to benefit the Bavarians. He pointed out, moreover, how unjust it would be to alienate the Seminary from the Scotch mission, declaring it to be nothing less than an act of spoliation. The Bavarian Ministry were proof against argument. Meanwhile, Bishop Gillis submitted the memorial to Lord Palmerston, at the time Foreign Secretary, and requested him to use his influence with the Court of Bavaria in order to obtain more reasonable terms. The British Minister promised to give his aid and suggested that the memorial should be presented to him in a more condensed form. This was done; and the Government, through their envoy at Munich, Mr. Milbank, made a representation to the Bavarian Ministry. This action was not without

its effect. The threatened measure was suspended, and the matter in question was referred for final decision to the Holy See. There even, the niggardly spirit of the Bavarian Ministry so far prevailed that only £10,000 was allowed to Scotland in lieu of all the properties bestowed by Scotchmen on the Monastery of St. James of Ratisbon. It was a condition of this decision that the sum mentioned should be applied in aid of additions to the Scotch College at Rome. The negotiations lasted eight months, the two or three last of which the Bishop spent at Bruges. In March, 1849, he returned to Edinburgh.

The pontificate of Bishop Carruthers was further illustrated by the sojourn for some years, at Edinburgh of the ex-King, Charles X., and the exiled Royal Family of France. All kind and proper attentions were shown them by the Bishop, his coadjutor, the Rev. Alexander Badenoch, and the other priests of the time. A special pew was fitted up for them in St. Mary's Church, where they regularly attended, and a private passage opened from the Bishop's house to the church.

The grandson and heir of the exiled King Henri Duc De Bordeaux, better known, afterwards, as Count De Chambord, had his earlier education at Edinburgh. Later in life, when a young man, he

revisited the scenes of his youth in Scotland. He was treated everywhere with attention and every mark of regard. He paid a visit to St. Margaret's Convent, and held a levee there attended by His Grace, Mgr. le Duc De Lévis, Admiral Count Villaret Joyeuse and his preceptor, M. De Barande. Several persons of distinction friends of his family availed themselves of the opportunity to honour him with their friendly greetings. The chaplain, who as such, and also as senior priest of Edinburgh, assisted the good sisters in doing the honours of the house, in the absence of the Bishop, requested Mgr. De Lévis to present to the Prince, the venerable Sister Agnes Xavier, informing him that she was the daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman, and a convert to the Catholic Faith, the first Scotch lady who, since the Religious Revolution, became a Religious, and one of the first colony of Religious Sisters who occupied St. Margaret's Convent. To hear all this was a new pleasure to the Prince, who was a good Catholic.

In 1842, a new honour was added to the pontificate of Bishop Carruthers by the arrival in Scotland of the relics of one of the early martyrs. This good fortune was due to the zeal of a Catholic lady, Mrs. Colonel Hutchison, who, on occasion of a visit to Rome, had an audience of the Holy Father, Gregory XVI., at which she was introduced as a

convert from Protestantism, and a liberal benefactress of the Scotch missions. The Pope was so pleased that he asked her to name any favour it might be in his power to grant. The good lady expressed her wish to obtain the relics of a saint for her "eldest daughter." On learning that this was no other than Saint Margaret's Convent, Gregory XVI. immediately ordered that the body of Saint Crescentia, Virgin and Martyr, should be confided to Mrs. Hutchison. On her return home, in company with Bishop Ullathorne, she was arrested at Leghorn, having been mistaken for a person of the same name who had aided in the escape of Lavalette in 1816. Bishop Ullathorne on reaching London, drew up a statement of the case, which was presented to Lord Aberdeen by Lord Cunningham, (a Judge of the Supreme Court) Mrs. Hutchison's brother. The British Minister lost no time in communicating with Prince Metternich, and an apology speedily put an end to the trouble. A list of "contraband" individuals was no longer kept on the frontier of Lombardy where many British travellers had been stopped and turned back. In future there could be no such annoyance. The case of relics which Mrs. Hutchison carried with her was an additional source of anxiety to her during her misadventure. She succeeded, however, in bringing

it safely to Edinburgh ; and the relics of Saint Crescentia, having been duly presented to the Ursuline Sisterhood, were deposited in an elegant shrine, designed by the celebrated architect, Pugin, and manufactured by Bonnar and Carfrae, of Edinburgh.

Somewhat later, Scotland and the Convent were enriched with a relic of Queen Saint Margaret, obtained from Spain through the exertions of Bishop Gillis, when Vicar-Apostolic. But we must not anticipate.

One of the latest acts of the Bishop, now far advanced in years, was to preside at the re-opening of the enlarged and improved Church of St. John, at Perth. He asked on that occasion the writer, who had preached in the forenoon, to give a second sermon at the Vesper service. On the latter suggesting that it would be more acceptable to the congregation to hear a few words from their Bishop, the aged prelate addressed to them a short but very feeling allocution. In connection with Perth it may be mentioned, as shewing the advancing liberality of the time, that on occasion of a banquet given by the municipality, 1840, in honour of the birth of the Princess Royal, now Empress Dowager of Germany, the Lord Provost invited the priest in charge at the time, and included him in the toast of *the clergy*, to the great satisfaction of the numerous company.

It was a source of great consolation to the venerable Bishop in his declining years, to observe the progress which religion had made during his comparatively short pontificate. The number of churches and clergy had increased and was still increasing ; the cause of Catholic education was daily gaining ground ; Catholics from being a disliked and dreaded sect, were become popular ; religious societies had begun to be introduced ; the community of St. Margaret's, with its two houses, had gained by its successful pains in the work of education and its charitable care of the sick, the affection of the Catholics and the esteem of the general public. The Bishop was now eighty-three years of age, and having lived to witness all that he could expect or hope for, he was prepared to say, like the saintly Simeon, "*Now, O Lord, dismiss Thy servant in peace for my eyes have seen the advance of Thy salvation.*" He was still active, however, and persevered in visiting the missions ; insomuch, that it was remarked that he thought he could never do enough of duty. His last visit was to Dunfermline, the chief seat of the Fifeshire missions, which he had caused to be founded. He was there the guest of the writer for the better part of a day ; and after an early dinner returned to Edinburgh, apparently in his usual good health. He had scarcely reached the capital, however,

when he was attacked with typhus fever, which, in its fatal course of eleven days, put an end to his career, but not until after he had participated in all the consolations of religion and set a bright example of Christian fortitude and patience. His death was generally lamented and spoken of in the public prints as that of the "the much beloved prelate."

THE END.

ADDENDA.

TULLOCH-ALLUM.

Tulloch-Allum in the Highlands of Banffshire, alluded to in this work, was a favourite resort of the venerable Bishop Hay. The head of the family that had been resident there for several generations was devoted to the Bishop, always served his mass and accompanied him on his missionary journeyings. His eldest son, John Gordon, who was studying for the priesthood at the College of Douai at the time of the French Revolution, escaped from France, along with other students, and became distinguished as a missionary Priest. He built a church at Dumbarton and another at Greenock, where, afterwards, the late Reverend William Gordon, the last chief of the clan Gordon of Glenbucket, was so long the zealous and popular pastor.

The following account of the missions of Cabrach, Achen-doune, and Abuline Speyside, from 1770 till 1856, has been kindly furnished by a worthy member of the family so long resident at Tullochallum. The priest or missionary for the time had his home mostly at Shenval, parish of Cabrach, one of the wildest spots in that poor country. A very humble thatched cottage served as a church—long ago levelled to the ground.

The Catholics in Cabrach were few and poor, but, like some of the other missions, were protected by the powerful Duke of Gordon.

At Achendoune in those days they had no church. Mass was said there at intervals at the farm of Tullochallum, then occupied by John Gordon, a cadet and near relative of Gordon of Clastirum in the Enzie, already mentioned in these sketches, and still in the possession of his grandson, George Gordon. No room in the

modest house of Tullochallum was large enough for the few Catholics, so that mass was celebrated in the "kiln." A complete set of hangings to cover the temporary altar were kept at Tullochallum; and one of the sons, principally the late Alexander Gordon, had the honour of carrying the altar stone and chalice, with other requisites for mass, from Shenval to Tullochallum and thence to Abuline, his duties further consisting of serving mass, the priest as a rule visiting each place in succession.

There were few Catholics in Abuline, but the family, a cadet branch of the Letterfourie Gordons, were firmly attached to the old faith.

In addition to this, Bishop Hay, when on his journeys between Aberdeen and Scalan, invariably spent some time at Tullochallum, resting occasionally a few weeks, his episcopal Palace for the time being what in the language of those days was termed "the guest chamber," a room or rooms apart from the main house. Here in quiet and solitude he used to write part of those works so long famous in Scotland, and forming to this day what his worthy successor, the late Rev. Bishop Kyle, justly styled "The Layman's Theology." When on his journeys, always performed in his later years on horseback, the bishop was accompanied by a man servant. This was necessary as well for assistance as protection, as they carried all the baggage, including the bishop's vestments and everything necessary for celebrating mass, in two immense saddlebags.

The bishop, his man, and horses, were welcome at Tullochallum so long as they chose to remain. It was mainly to the charity and generosity of John Gordon, ably supported by his pious spouse, a near relative of Gordon of Glenbucket, that the mission of Achendoune owed its life and existence.

Both from the fact that it was frequently the temporary home of Bishop Hay, as well as the resting place of every priest travelling that way, the name of Tullochallum was so well known at Rome that some of the students on their return to Scotland as priests, having heard so much of it and the family, were astonished to find it was only a modest farm house.

The late John Gordon was often heard to remark (he was himself a very early riser, never in bed after four o'clock) that on going to visit the bishop—the first thing he did every morning—he never found His Lordship in bed or asleep, but on his knees at prayer.

When times became less intolerant, and it was considered more convenient for priest and people, the headquarters of the mission were removed from Shenval to the farm of Upper Keithock in Achendoune, possibly about 1790. To help the priest to live the Duke of Gordon rented him the small farm; and a little church was built, one story and thatched roof. The priest then was a Mr. Davidson, a native of the Enzie. John Gordon of Tullochallum took upon himself the cost of cultivating the priest's farm, seed and labor—never doing a thing for his own till the priest's crop was laid down.

Rev. Mr. Davidson was removed from there to Greenock and was succeeded early in this century by the Rev. George Gordon, a native of Garioch, Aberdeen-shire, in many ways a remarkable man. Educated at the Scotch College in Valladolid he was a thorough Spaniard to the end of his life; a born musician, as his masses and hymns testify; composed and arranged for the use of small choirs as their title sets forth, they are to this day the standard music in many missions in Scotland, as much as Bishop Hay's works were the theology of the people.

Mr. Gordon, not satisfied with the thatched chapel, set to work and erected a comfortable two story stone building with slated roof. The lower story served as the presbytery, and the upper flat, having a vaulted roof, made a very respectable chapel—a great improvement on the other with the mud floor.

In 1817 the village of Dufftown on the property of the Earl of Fife, a very liberal nobleman, was begun. It is situated about two and a half miles north west of the farm of Upper Keithock, and besides being more central was on the highway to Glenlivet and the upper missions. Mr. Gordon got a grant of a few acres of land from the Earl of Fife, and in 1825 he built thereon a very neat stone church with gothic facade, in dressed sandstone, as well as a compact and comfortable presbytery, also in stone, and

enclosed the whole property with a stone and lime wall, all of which remain to this day a standing memorial of his zeal and energy.

With his taste and his musical talent he got an organ for the new church, and trained several members of his choir, male and female, to play and sing. Some years before his death in 1856 he, out of his private means, purchased a magnificent organ, costing about one thousand pounds sterling, and presented it to the mission, the smaller organ going to another place.

This good and pious priest lies buried at the side of the altar in the church his zeal was the means of erecting, and a marble tablet in the hall records a fitting tribute to his memory. How little many now alive, and in this over-busy century, think how much they are indebted to the zeal, piety and self-denial of their ancestors who in sad days of trial kept for them the inestimable gift of the Catholic faith!



PROGRESS.

In order to convey an idea of the growth of the church since the restoration of the hierarchy, it may be mentioned that in the Archdiocese of Glasgow alone, the number of Catholics has increased to 220,000.

The work of education keeps pace with the increase of population. The teaching staff of the Archdiocese numbers 679. There has been an extraordinary extension of mission schools from 1877 to 1888. Accommodation augmented from 23,911 to 34,612; number on rolls from 21,647 to 33,283; average attendance from 14,521 to 24,292; number presented at Government examination from 10,655 to 23,117; at religious examination from 16,599 to 26,477; while at the other schools the accommodation has risen from 1739 to 2082; number on rolls from 1508 to 1679; the number presented at religious examination from 1220 to 1553.

A second synod of the Archdiocese of Glasgow was held in October last, the Archbishop presiding and 120 priests attending. The decrees of the first National Council which had been held at Fort Augustus were promulgated and the appointment announced of "Missionary Rectors" for thirteen missions.

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